

MAN IS CHARGED
WITH HATE CRIME
IN FLAME ATTACK

AT MARCH IN COLORADO

Authorities Say Suspect
Spent Year on Plan to
'Kill All' Zionists

This article is by Mark Walker, Michael Levenson and Thomas Fuller.

BOULDER, Colo. — The man accused of an attack against demonstrators who were seeking to bring attention to hostages held in Gaza had been planning it for a year and told investigators that he wanted to "kill all Zionist people and wished they were all dead," federal prosecutors said on Monday.

The man, Mohammed Sabry Soliman, was federally charged on Monday with a hate crime in the attack on Sunday afternoon in Boulder, Colo. The Boulder County district attorney's office also announced charges on Monday of multiple state counts of attempted murder, assault and possession of incendiary devices.

Mr. Soliman appeared briefly in a Boulder court on Monday afternoon and remained in custody on



Michael Cingolo for the New York Times
A Boulder resident put flowers at the attack site on Monday.

a \$10 million bond.

The authorities said that at some time before 1:30 p.m. on Sunday, Mr. Soliman, who hails from Egypt and whose American tourist visa had expired, ignited two Molotov cocktails — glass bottles filled with flammable liquid — and threw them toward the demonstrators. Twelve people were injured, two of them seriously.

The wounded, including one 88-year-old victim, were participating in a weekly event called Run for Their Lives, which is held in cities around the world and is designed to call attention to the hostages taken by Hamas militants in the Oct. 7, 2023, terrorist attack on Israel that ignited a war.

Mr. Soliman yelled "Free Palestine" during the attack, according to an F.B.I. affidavit.

Continued on Page A14

Economists See
Trouble Ahead
In G.O.P.'s Bill

Warning It's Bad Time
to Increase Deficit

By BEN CASSELMAN and COLBY SMITH

There is a basic rule of thumb when it comes to the federal budget. The government should spend heavily during times of crisis — recessions, wars, pandemics — and then get its fiscal house in order when the crisis passes.

The tax and spending bill passed by the House of Representatives last month turns that rule on its head, adding trillions to the debt when unemployment is low and the economy is solid by most measures. That could make it much harder for the government to come to the rescue in the next downturn.

The Senate this week is expected to take up the bill, which would extend most of the tax cuts enacted during President Trump's first term, and would add billions of dollars in new tax breaks for tipped workers, business owners and other groups. It would cut spending, too, but not by nearly as much. In total, the bill would add \$1.5 trillion to the national debt over the next decade, according to congressional scorekeepers.

That comes on top of a sea of red ink that has swelled to near-record levels in recent decades. In 2000, after years of strong economic growth and spending cuts under President Bill Clinton, the federal debt load was about a third the size of annual economic output. Since then, after decades of tax cuts and spending increases, this measure of the debt burden has roughly tripled, to about 100 percent of gross domestic product, the highest level since World War II and at a rate of growth that experts across the political spectrum say is unsustainable.

"I'm extraordinarily concerned about the fiscal implications of this," said David H. Romer, an economist at the University of California, Berkeley, who has studied the impact of government deficits. "We're starting from high levels of debt, high levels of deficits, projected growing budgetary pressure from an aging population. And the investors are already jittery about this, so this is not just hypothetical."

The worry, long expressed by

Continued on Page A15

More on the White House

FIERY BRIEF A coalition including figures on the right said the president's tariffs did violence to the constitutional structure. PAGE A13

PRESSING ON The president is set to raise tariffs on steel and aluminum even as courts are challenging other levies. PAGE B5

Far From Home: Uyghur Workers
In Factories Supplying Global Brands



This article is by David Pierson, Vivian Wang and Dan Murphy.

China's mass detention and surveillance of ethnic Uyghurs turned its far western region of Xinjiang into a global symbol of forced labor and human rights abuses, prompting Congress to ban imports from the area in 2021. But the Chinese government has found a way around the ban — by moving Uyghurs to jobs in factories outside Xinjiang.

A joint investigation by The

New York Times, the Bureau of Investigative Journalism and Der Spiegel found that state-led programs to ship Uyghur workers out of Xinjiang are much more extensive than previously known.

China has placed Uyghurs in factories across the country that make a wide variety of goods used in brand-name products around the world, the investigation found. And it has done so with little to no visibility for supply-chain auditors or border and customs officials charged with spotting labor

abuses and blocking the import of tainted goods.

Both the United States and the European Union have adopted laws aimed at preventing consumers and businesses from funding the persecution of Uyghurs in China. These state-run labor transfer programs pose a significant challenge. It may be possible to target imports from Xinjiang, but tracking the relocation and treatment of workers from Xinjiang to factories across China is a

Continued on Page A10



The Waltz Goes Extraterrestrial

The Vienna Symphony Orchestra's rendition of the "Blue Danube" waltz was beamed into space on Saturday, correcting a decades-old cultural omission from early Voyager missions. PAGE C4.

\$105 Million Package to Repair What Tulsa Massacre Destroyed

By AUDRA D. S. BURCH and BREENA KERR

The Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921, one of the most horrific episodes of racial violence in U.S. history, killed up to 300 Black residents and destroyed a neighborhood. More than a century later, the city's mayor announced a \$105

million reparations package on Sunday, the first large-scale plan committing funds to address the effect of the atrocity.

Monroe Nichols, the first Black mayor of Tulsa, unveiled the sweeping project, named Road to Repair. It is intended to chip away at enduring disparities caused by the massacre and its aftermath in

the Greenwood neighborhood and the wider North Tulsa community in Tulsa, Okla.

The centerpiece of the project is the creation of the Greenwood Trust, a private charitable trust, with the goal of securing \$105 million in assets — including private contributions, property transfers and possible public funding — by

NEWS ANALYSIS

Kyiv's Drones
Both Strategic
And Symbolic

Attacks Inside Russia
Show Ability to Evolve

By MARC SANTORA and DEVON LUM

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine's drone attacks on airfields deep inside Russia on Sunday were strategic and symbolic blows that military analysts said were designed to slow Moscow's bombing campaign and demonstrate that Kyiv can still raise the cost of war for the Kremlin.

After more than a year of planning, Ukraine was able to plant drones on Russian soil, just miles away from military bases. Then in a coordinated operation on Sunday, Ukrainian drones attacked five regions in Russia. Some were launched from containers attached to semis, their flights captured on videos verified by The New York Times. Plumes of smoke billowed above one base. At another, strategic bombers were hit.

Although the full extent of the damage is unknown, the attack, known as Operation Spider's Web, showed how Ukraine is adapting and evolving in the face of a war with military and economic resources. Using drones, Kyiv has been able to push Russia out of much of the Black Sea, limit its gains on the front lines despite Ukraine's own troop shortages, and hamper Russia's ability to amass large concentrations of forces for major offensives.

The operation on Sunday, along with extensive bombardments on Ukrainian cities by Moscow, also complicates efforts for diplomacy. Delegations from both sides met Monday for peace talks in Istanbul, with no breakthrough on a cease-fire announced.

After the attacks, there were calls for a swift response across Russian media, and Ukrainians hoped for retaliation, even as they celebrated an operation that gave their beleaguered nation a much needed morale boost.

Both sides have put out assessments that were not immediately verifiable.

Ukraine said that 117 drones were used in the attacks and that 41 Russian aircraft were destroyed or damaged.

Russian military bloggers played down the damage; the Russian Ministry of Defense said that Ukraine had attacked airfields in the Murmansk, Irkutsk, Ivanovo, Ryazan and Amur regions, and that Moscow had thwarted attacks at three of the bases.

The New York Times verified videos that showed successful strikes at Olenya Air Base in the Murmansk region and Belaya Air Base in the Irkutsk region, and damage to at least five aircraft, four of them strategic bombers.

Even with limited information, military analysts said the operation ranks as a signature event on par with the sinking of the Russian flagship Moskva early in the war and the maritime drone assaults that forced the Russian Navy to largely abandon the home port of the Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, Crimea.

Continued on Page A6

Business Interests Pouring Cash
Into Super PAC Backing Cuomo

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

A quarter-million dollars came from the head of Suffolk Construction, a Boston-based builder betting big on a New York City expansion.

Another \$150,000 arrived from the chairman of Vornado Realty Trust, who is searching for a way to revive a stalled Midtown Manhattan redevelopment so important that he once called it his "promised land."

DoorDash, the food delivery service lobbying City Hall on regulations that could disrupt its business model, chipped in a staggering \$1 million.

The donations make up just a fraction of the checks from New York business leaders, billionaires and special interest groups pour-

ing into a super PAC boosting Andrew M. Cuomo, the favorite in the Democratic primary for mayor on June 24.

With \$10 million raised so far, the super PAC, Fix the City, is already the single largest outside spending force in New York City's political history, surpassing a record set in 2021. It has spent millions more on ads than any campaign in the race, blanketing New Yorkers' screens in peacocks to the former governor.

The next biggest candidate super PAC, set up to back Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani, a democratic socialist who is second in recent polls, has 1/50th of the funds. Many of Fix the City's donors

Continued on Page A16



Standing Up Against Trump

Senator Lisa Murkowski, an Alaska Republican, could help decide the fate of the domestic policy bill. PAGE A12

Court Will Hear Ballot Case

The justices will hear a challenge to an Illinois law that allows mail-in votes to be counted after Election Day. PAGE A13

Poland Reflects Global Divide

The country's government is centrist, with deep ties to Brussels. Its new leader is a Trump-backed nationalist, a symbol of a broader struggle. PAGE A8

South Korea Goes to the Polls

The next president will face daunting challenges to heal a polarized country and restore stability. PAGE A4

Capping a Billionaire's Quest

Soichiro Fukutake, the businessman behind Japan's art islands, has added yet another jewel to his crown. PAGE C1



Race to Save Elephant Seals

A colony of the animals in California faces serious threats, among them the possibility of bird flu outbreak. PAGE D8

Still Struggling With Anorexia

Eating disorders, seen as striking mostly teenage girls and young women, affect older age groups, too. PAGE D1



Testing a New Way to Search

Google's AI Mode, a tool similar to chatbots like ChatGPT and Google's Gemini, excels at tasks like product research for online shopping. But it falls short on basic web searches. PAGE B1

A Bonanza at the Box Office

The live-action "Lilo & Stitch" remake has collected \$610 million worldwide after just 10 days in theaters, a validation for Disney's renewed emphasis on theatrical releases. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

Robinson Meyer

PAGE A18



A New York Sumo Outpost

After three years of work, a club last month held its first tournament, in Brooklyn, for amateur students of the ancient combat sport. PAGE B6






Inside The Times

The New York Times

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The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER	Corrections A16 Crossword C3 Obituaries A20	Opinion A18-19 Weather B10 Classified Ads B4
		

VIDEO The battle between Harvard University and the Trump administration has continued to escalate. In a Times video, Michael C. Bender examined the administration's actions against the nation's oldest university. [nytimes.com/video](#)

INTERACTIVE Boys enter kindergarten less prepared than girls. In an examination of data, The Upshot showed how this early deficit can compound as well as explain some of the recent struggles of boys and young men. [nytimes.com/upshot](#)

AUDIO On "The Interview," the Grammy-winning singer Miley Cyrus discussed how she has accepted her parents as individuals, her path to overcoming child stardom and how she learned to be in control. [nytimes.com/podcast](#)

Quote of the Day

"Investors are already jittery about this, so this is not just hypothetical."

DAVID H. ROMER, economist at the University of California, Berkeley, on how the government's growing budget deficits are making bond investors nervous. [Econo-](#)
[mists warn that could make it harder to respond to future crises. Page A1.](#)

The Story Behind the Story

To Nurture Your Creative Side, Get Curious

A new five-day challenge from the Well team prompts readers to stretch their problem-solving skills.

By TOM WRIGHT-PIERSANTI

Last May, my father-in-law showed up at my house with a child-size drum set in his trunk. That might make some parents shudder, but I was thrilled. I was a drummer when I was younger, with a set just like this one, and now my 7-year-old son could follow in my footsteps.

I've learned two things in the year since. First, you can't force your kids to like the things you like; my son has probably played those drums for 15 minutes total. More important, though, I learned that I wasn't a former drummer. I'm still a drummer. Even though I hadn't engaged that part of my brain in years, my trips downstairs to do laundry now usually include a few minutes bashing on that little drum set. I'm not making beautiful music — just ask my neighbors — but I'm having a great time. Every little session leaves me feeling energized.

That spark of creativity is something my colleagues at Well, The New York Times's personal health and wellness section, think everyone could use more of. They've got a five-day challenge that aims to help readers nurture their creative side, which will be presented every day this week in the Here to Help space on Page A3.

For the Morning newsletter, I spoke with Elizabeth Passarella, the writer behind the project, to learn more. Read our conversation.

After years away from the drums, I've been shocked by how good it feels to make music. Why is that?

What you feel is what many of us feel when we do something creative: giddy and inspired. Whether you do something more traditionally creative, like draw or play music, or riff on a recipe because you were out of an ingredient, it gives you a little boost. And there is plenty of research that links creativity to happiness and better moods.

Some people reading this are gifted painters and musicians, I'm sure. But others would probably say that they don't have much artistic talent. What would you say to them? You are all creative in some way. There's a definition of creativity that researchers use: generating something novel that is also useful. That could be the score to a movie. It could also be, as one expert told me, a brilliant solution to keeping your dog out of a certain area of your house. Or making up a weird game to play with your toddler.

Basically, anybody can be creative at any time.

Yes. And it might come more naturally to some of us. But it's a skill you can practice



ERIK WINKOWSKI

and grow. Several researchers I spoke to emphasized how curiosity — just being open to something new or asking questions — is a hallmark of being creative. We can all nurture that.

Part of the goal here, I know, is to help people actually get over the hump and do a creative new thing. How does that happen?

Every day, we give you a short exercise that's a warm-up for your brain. Kind of like a stretch. And we tell you the aspect of creative thinking that it's demonstrating, some of which you probably already do but just don't realize. For example, having constraints when you are problem-solving can improve your solutions. It's why I write snapper articles when my editors give me word counts (which they always do). On the day we talk about constraints, we'll ask you to write a poem using only certain words we provide. I love that challenge. You'll see

one of my poems as an example. Be nice.

I'm sure your poetry is just as good as my drumming. Before this project, did you consider yourself a creative person?

Absolutely. I'm a journalist, I write books and I have no other employable skills. Writing is the only job I've ever had, so honestly, learning techniques to get out of a rut and knowing I can grow my own creativity feels like I've gained a little job security. (Ha-ha, just kidding. There's no job security in writing.) But in all seriousness, before reporting this story, I would have said that creativity always alights on you, like a muse. I learned that, no, you can work at it. That makes me excited and hopeful.

Find the 5-Day Creativity Challenge in the Here to Help space today through Saturday.

Today's Top Trending Headlines

▶ **Trump Amplifies Another Outlandish Conspiracy Theory: Biden Is a Robotic Clone** On Truth Social, President Trump reposted a user's false claim that former President Joseph R. Biden had been "executed" in 2020 and replaced by a robotic clone. The White House did not respond to requests for comment on the post about Mr. Biden, whom Mr. Trump has targeted for criticism almost daily since the start of his second term, Zolan Kanno-Youngs reported from Washington.

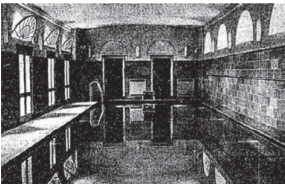
▶ **Lisa Murkowski Isn't Using 'Nice Words' About Life Under Trump** Senator Lisa Murkowski, the moderate Alaska Republican, has used sharp words and her vote on the Senate floor to push back on Mr. Trump and his administration. Ms. Murkowski is now poised to become one of the most influential voices in pushing back on the sprawling legislation carrying the president's domestic agenda. Katie Edmondson, who covers Congress, reported from Anchorage and Washington.

▶ **What to Know About the Attack on a March for Israeli Hostages in Colorado** Federal prosecutors said on Monday that they had charged a man with a hate crime after he used Molotov cocktails on Sunday in Boulder, Colo., to attack people who were marching in support of Israeli hostages in Gaza. Eight people were hospitalized with burns and other injuries, and two of them were in serious condition, officials said. The suspect was arrested immediately after the attack.

▶ **A Giant Plume of Saharan Dust Is Headed to Florida** A large cloud of Saharan dust will reach and spread across the Gulf Coast region this week. Those in the region may notice that the skies look different as dust high in the atmosphere scatters sunlight. "With the dust, the whole sky looks soft and warm because the particles themselves are red," one expert told Amy Graff, a reporter on The Times's weather team.

▶ **A Fiery Brief Fueled by Conservatives Helped Put Trump's Tariffs In Peril** A coalition of conservative and libertarian lawyers, scholars and former officials said the president's tariffs did violence to the constitutional structure. Adam Liptak wrote that it's a sign of "a deepening rift between Mr. Trump and the conservative legal movement."

A Headline From History



THE NEW YORK TIMES

WHITE HOUSE POOL READY FOR ROOSEVELT

June 3, 1933. President Franklin D. Roosevelt thanked workers the previous day upon the completion of an indoor swimming pool (above) in the White House. The Times reported. The pool, located on the west terrace between the residence and the West Wing, was funded by a campaign led by The New York Daily News. "I want you men to know that this pool will be a big help to me," said Mr. Roosevelt, who swam as part of his rehabilitation for polio. During the Nixon administration, a press room that could support the needs of television broadcasting was built on a floor that covered the pool. President Gerald R. Ford, who enjoyed swimming, had an outdoor pool constructed on the South Lawn in 1975.

Facts of Interest

In late 2023, bird flu killed more than 17,000 pups belonging to a colony of southern elephant seals living on the shores of Valdés Peninsula in Argentina. Experts said it could take decades for the population to recover.

For California's Seals, Bird Flu Poses Danger D8

Disney's live-action "Lilo & Stitch" remake, which was made for \$100 million and had been initially planned as a straight-to-streaming release, collected \$610 million worldwide in its first 10 days in theaters.

'Lilo & Stitch' Comes Back With a Bang B1

Only New Jersey and Virginia hold races for governor the year after a presidential race.

New Jersey Republicans Run in Trump's Shadow A16

A 2023 research review reported that the prevalence rates among women 40 and older with full diagnoses of eating disorders were between 2.1 and 7.7 percent. (For men, they were less than 1 percent.)

In Anorexia's Persistent Grip D1

Orchards are specialty growers, a small niche in a U.S. farming hierarchy dominated by global producers. Specialty crops are labor intensive, rely heavily on local buyers and get relatively little government support.

Trump Holds Up Subsidy For Local Food, And A Family Farm Is Pinched A11

On Saturday evening in Austria, the Vienna Symphony Orchestra performed Johann Strauss's "Blue Danube" waltz as a 35-meter antenna in Cerebos, Spain, simultaneously transmitted a recording of it into space.

Waltzing Across the Universe C4

The Mini Crossword

1	2	3	4	
5				6
7				
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9				

6/3/2025

BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS

- One of three primary ingredients in sponge cake
- Sponge cake ingredient #2
- Lower body exercise with one foot stretched forward and one back
- First-stringers
- Towel cloth material

DOWN

- Key just above D
- Butt muscle, informally
- One who's completely toast
- Sponge cake ingredient #3
- ___ Martin (brand of cognac)

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

F	A	R	G	O
I	D	I	O	M
T	U	T	U	S
L	E	D		
T	S	A		

Reader Corner

Callout: Have you interacted with school police officers in Texas?

In Texas, nearly 400 public school districts run their own police departments. Hundreds of other districts hire security guards or contract with local law enforcement agencies to put officers on their campuses. Those numbers have been growing. Texas now requires at least one armed guard on every public school campus in the state.

Clare Amari and Kristian Hernández, who are examining school policing in Texas as part of The Times's Local Investigations Fellowship, want to hear from students, school employees and community members who have interacted with school police officers in the state.

Tell us: Do you or someone you know have a story about school police officers or security guards in Texas? In which school and district did the interactions take place? How do you feel about the ways in which police officers or security guards responded to incidents or threats on campus?

To share your experience, fill out a form at nytimes.com/readers. We won't publish your response without contacting you.



MORTEZA KHAKSHOOR

On the Scene

A Times Journalist Reflects on a Reporting Project



SIMBARASHE CHA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The reporter Alan Blinder, left, spoke to the singer Usher about his creative writing process.

"I thought it'd be kind of fun, writer to writer, to talk about what it's like to write," I told Usher as we shared a couch in Amsterdam. He beamed.

"I like that!" he said. "Thank you." Our project about how Usher and his team constructed a commencement address for Emory University did not begin with ambitions of an interview in Europe or a digital presentation filled with so many of The New York Times's tools. It started when an editor wondered about the challenge of writing a commencement address at a complex moment in American higher education.

After I heard that Usher would speak at Emory on May 12, I asked if he would be game for an article focusing less on what he said and more on how he decided to say it. The education beat's celebrities are typically college presidents and Nobel Prize-winning professors. To my surprise, it took less than two days for Usher to send word that he would talk. He said he would also show us how he and his team built the speech.

Through his publicist and primary speechwriter, Lydia Kanuga, we saw drafts and text messages. We heard voice memos and sat in on a late-night brainstorming

session after a show in London. There and in Amsterdam and Atlanta, we watched how Usher wrestled with his own story as my colleague Simbarashe Cha captured it all on photo and video.

At last, we heard the final speech and saw Usher receive his honorary degree.

But the scene at Emory was almost beside the point. The through line of the project was always about Usher's process.

So we never talked much about his tour or the day's gossip. Instead, amid chatter about fatherhood and jet lag, we discussed our writing weaknesses and word choices, our muses and most essential editors. Then, as the speech approached, we saw his own writing and rewriting, each word a glimpse into how a musician's mind worked before a star turn on a different stage.

Of course, his last-minute rewrites also meant I had to tear apart the article's structure, which had been coming together in my mind.

Fittingly, the most robust feedback we heard from readers came from English teachers. Many of them told us they would share the article in their classrooms to prove to skeptical students that even Usher goes through more than one draft.

ALAN BLINDER

Here to Help

The Creativity Challenge, Day 1: Start With Some Quick Doodles

By ELIZABETH PASSARELLA

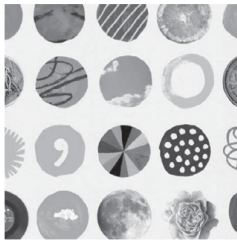
Welcome to the Well Creativity Challenge. This week in this space, we'll give you a new activity each day to help make your mind more limber, based on exercises that experts use themselves. We'll prompt you to try things outside your comfort zone, all in service of thinking more freely and expansively. This is Day 1.

I'm here to guide you through the challenge. I think of myself as a creative person, one who took poetry classes (and almost failed statistics) in college, then chose writing as my career.

Many of us have a narrow definition of creativity. We think it's a rare gift reserved for artists. But we're all creative in some way. And being creative comes with big health benefits. It can energize you, sharpen your ideas and problem-solving skills, and act as a powerful antidote against burnout. Research links creativity to happiness and well-being, and a 2021 study found that older people who participated in creative activities showed less cognitive decline than those who did not.

Practicing creativity, or simply interacting with it, can also make you more empathetic and open-minded, said Dr. Elizabeth Gaufberg, an associate professor of medicine and psychiatry at Harvard Medical School who co-directs an art fellowship for health professionals. "Engaging with art helps people tolerate ambiguity and listen to other perspectives," she said. "It helps people stay curious."

Creativity is a skill that can be developed. Certain activities can prime your brain for



ERIK WINIKOWSKI

it, much like stretching before you exercise, said Jonathan Schooler, a psychological scientist and the director of the Center for Mindfulness and Human Potential at the University of California, Santa Barbara. That's what this challenge is all about.

Day 1: Turn 10 circles into something else Your first exercise is a classic creative task used to encourage divergent thinking, where you generate multiple solutions to a problem instead of zeroing in on a single one. It's a key component to novel thinking and stretching your creative muscles.

To get started, draw 10 circles. Then draw inside or outside the lines. (Maybe one circle sprouts legs and becomes a friendly spider, for example.) Give yourself five to 10 minutes to complete all 10 circles.

The 5-Day Creativity Challenge continues tomorrow.



Initial here.

The Diamond Initial Necklace
Round and Baguette Diamonds in 18K Gold

MONICA RICH KOSANN

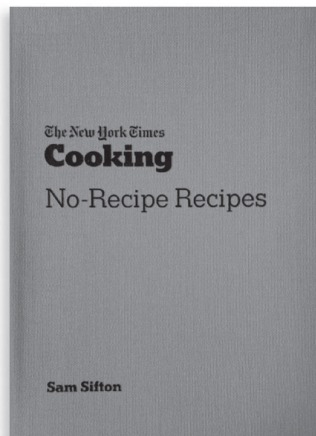
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A Divided South Korea Heads to the Polls to Choose Its Next Leader



Lee Jae-myung, center, with other Democratic Party members at a rally in Seoul on Monday.



Kim Moon-soo, the candidate for the incumbent People Power Party, wrapping up his campaign.

Election Held to Replace President Who Briefly Installed Martial Law

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL — The presidential election in South Korea on Tuesday will be a big step toward stabilizing the country after months of political turbulence. But whoever wins — the left-wing front-runner Lee Jae-myung or his conservative rival Kim Moon-soo — will lead a nation in crisis.

'A daunting and complex crisis is buffeting us.'

LEE JAE-MYUNG, the front-runner in South Korea's presidential race.

South Korea's economic growth has sputtered to a snail's pace. Its income gap is wider than ever. Its suicide rates are among the highest, and its birthrates the lowest, in the world. And the country has never been more politically divided — between the left and right, between generations and between young men and women. Whoever becomes the president will not be accepted by a large swath of the polarized society.

South Korea also faces formidable challenges from abroad. North Korea is threatening to use its expanding nuclear arsenal against South Korea. Russia has signed a mutual defense treaty with the

backed by his Democratic Party, which controls Parliament with a large majority. His party has vowed to push bills through Parliament that critics said would increase his influence over the judiciary.

The election is seen as a referendum on former President Yoon Suk Yeol's short-lived imposition of martial law, for which he was expelled from office. That gave Mr. Lee a head start and polls leading up to the election showed him leading Mr. Kim, the candidate of the right-wing People Power Party, by around 10 percentage points.

His anticipated victory "is not thanks to any particular policy proposals, but rather a result of Yoon's spectacular collapse," said Prof. Leif-Eric Easley of Ewha Womans University in Seoul.

Mr. Lee has said he would use his power to bring the country together and revive the economy. But his supporters want him to pass special bills through Parliament to launch more extensive investigations into Mr. Yoon's martial law and to review allegations of corruption surrounding his family.

Mr. Kim has also promised national healing. But he has stoked the same right-wing fear and indignation that drove Mr. Yoon to send military troops to the Democrat-controlled Parliament to try to impose martial law. He has warned that if elected, Mr. Lee would turn into "a monster" and abuse his immense power for political retribution.

"Political polarization will continue," said Sung Deuk Hahn, dean of the Graduate School of Political Studies at Kyonggi University. "Lee Jae-myung must show a good economic performance to fend off challenges to the legitimacy of his presidency."

Mr. Lee still faces his own legal jeopardy: He has been on trial on several criminal charges, including violating election laws. There is a legal debate over whether his trials should continue if he wins the election or should be suspended until after his five-year term. The nation's Constitution doesn't provide a clear answer. The Constitutional Court will likely have to weigh in.

Until then, "uncertainty and confusion will persist," said Choi Jin, director of the Seoul-based Institute of Presidential Leadership.

But if anything, Mr. Lee is a survivor. Growing up in a slum south of Seoul, he only finished elementary school before he went to work in sweatshops as a teenager. But he eventually became a human rights lawyer, mayor, governor and the head of South Korea's largest political party and its presidential candidate twice.

He lost the 2022 election to Mr. Yoon. His legal troubles deepened, but his image as a victim of political persecution hardened among his supporters, when prosecutors under Mr. Yoon went after him, his family and his former aides with multiple criminal charges. His political fortune shifted after the unpopular Mr. Yoon declared martial law and angry South Koreans pushed back.

Mr. Lee's supporters have rallied behind his reputation as an administrator who gets things done — something the country sorely needs after three years of dysfunctional governance under Mr. Yoon. They have also expressed hopes that he would push through long-overdue reforms, such as overhauling the country's prosecution service, which has been accused of meddling in politics.

But his detractors, including elder voters and the right-wing political elites affiliated with the People Power Party, have called him a dangerous leftist who would undermine South Korea's alliance with Washington for the sake of improving ties with North Korea and China.

Mr. Lee has recognized political polarization as one of the biggest challenges he would face as president. (He narrowly escaped death when he was stabbed in the neck by a politically motivated assailant last year.) But he must tread cautiously in addressing the problem.

Mr. Yoon and others involved in the imposition of martial law are standing trial

After Knife Attack, Candidate Ramps Up Security Measures

By JIN YU YOUNG

SEOUL — In a country that mostly outlawed guns, the front-runner for president has been campaigning for Tuesday's vote clad in a bulletproof vest and giving speeches behind bulletproof glass.

Lee Jae-myung, the leader of the South Korean Democratic Party, has openly stepped up security to levels rarely seen in a South Korean election.

Early in the campaign season last month, Mr. Lee took off his suit to unveil a white bulletproof vest before slipping on his party's blue jacket in front of his supporters. During one speech, he was yelled at by supporters imploring him to stay behind protective glass after he briefly stepped outside of its cover. His team has restricted access for journalists and has only allowed a select few to tag along as he toured the nation.

Mr. Lee has reason to be concerned: He survived an attempted assassination last January when a man stabbed him in the neck after approaching him to ask for his autograph, in a worrying sign of how politically polarized the country had become. Last week, the National Police Agency said it had received nearly a dozen reports of online threats to kill Mr. Lee. One has been forwarded to prosecutors, an agency spokesman said.

"Threat levels for this election have been higher than those in the past," said Professor Yoon Taeyoung, who specializes in terrorism, crisis management and national intelligence at Kyungnam University.

Political violence is rare in South Korea, but there have been high-profile episodes of it. In 2006, former president Park Geun-hye — who was then a lawmaker — suffered a four-inch cut to her face after a man attacked her with a knife. Her father, the strongman Park Chung-hee, was fatally shot by the chief of the Korea Central Intelligence Agency at a dinner in 1979. More recently, Song Young-gil, the chief of the Democratic Party at the time, survived an attack to the head with a hammer in 2022.

South Korea has tight laws surrounding firearms: people can only own a gun if it's required for work such as in the police, military, or security industry, or authorized for hunting.

Kim Moon-soo, the candidate for the People's Power Party and Mr. Lee's main rival, has taken a more re-

laxed approach to security during the campaign.

"I have no need to wear a bulletproof vest," he said to supporters in Seoul in May, unzipping his jacket to reveal only a shirt underneath. "If there is a situation in which I am shot, then I'll be shot!" he said.

Mr. Kim has said he wants to decrease the size of his existing security unit, which he says is required to be the same as Mr. Lee's. Both men have several dozen bodyguards who operate in a three-tiered system.

The police are responsible for providing security to presidential candidates. The role is passed on to the presidential guard after a winner is elected.

Mr. Kim has tried to distinguish himself from Mr. Lee in every way possible, including his attitude toward safeguarding his public appearances, said Professor Yoon. Mr.

Reaching for protective vests, more bodyguards and bulletproof glass.

Kim is "appealing to his supporters that he's lived an honest life, he has no reason to fear an attack on his life," the professor said.

In January, the Democratic Party proposed that Mr. Lee wear a bulletproof and knife-proof vest during public appearances in response to multiple online threats to his life. He was seen wearing one during a visit to lawmakers in March who were on a hunger strike calling for the impeachment of former President Yoon Suk Yeol over a failed martial law decree in December. "I feel anxious if I don't wear it," he told one lawmaker.

Jeon Hyun-hee, a Democratic Party lawmaker, said in a televised party meeting in May that Mr. Lee had faced repeated threats of terrorism, claiming that Russian-made pistols and sniper rifles had been smuggled into South Korea and agents mobilized to target the candidate.

"Just like U.S. President Donald Trump, who faced an attempted assassination with a gun, we must consider every possible countermeasure including bulletproof glass barriers on all four sides of the campaign stage," she said.

Polls leading up to the election showed Mr. Lee leading Mr. Kim by more than 10 percentage points.



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, a poster of former President Yoon Suk Yeol, who was expelled from office for declaring martial law in December. Above, military personnel confronting protesters who came to the National Assembly after the martial law declaration. Mr. Yoon's actions deepened a widening political divide. Whoever wins Tuesday's vote, his successor will be opposed by a large swath of the polarized society.

North and is helping modernize its military. But President Trump has asked why the United States should spend so much money to keep its troops in South Korea. He has also slapped steep tariffs on cars, steel and other products that are crucial for South Korea's export-driven economy.

South Korea needs to repair strained diplomatic ties with China, its largest trade partner, to help spur exports and economic growth. But the United States, its only military ally, is asking it to join efforts to contain China.

"A daunting and complex crisis is buffeting us," said Mr. Lee, the Democratic Party candidate who is leading in the polls. "We must turn the crisis into opportunities."

Should he be elected, Mr. Lee will take office as one of the most powerful leaders since South Korea introduced popular elections in the late 1980s. He will be

on insurrection charges. While Mr. Lee has promised more investigations, many right-wing South Koreans say that Mr. Lee and his party were also responsible for Mr. Yoon's martial law, because their obstructive tactics in Parliament forced Mr. Yoon to the extremes.

"People want punishment but if Lee Jae-myung goes too far, he will face accusations of political revenge and persecution," said Mr. Hahn of Kyonggi University.

During the campaign, Mr. Lee vowed to build "national unity" promising to punish those involved in Mr. Yoon's martial law but not to indulge in political revenge. He talked less about traditional left-wing causes, like wealth redistribution and higher taxes for the rich, focusing more on economic growth.

Mr. Lee would also face a delicate balancing act in diplomacy.

He has tried to dispel the right-wing accusation that he was "pro-China" and "anti-U.S." by emphasizing that the alliance with Washington as the bedrock of

South Korean diplomacy. But he has also appealed to his left-wing base by promising to improve ties with China and North Korea without upsetting the alliance with Washington.

That strategy has detractors in Washington.

"We know that many countries are tempted by the idea of seeking both economic cooperation with China and defense cooperation with the United States," Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth said on Saturday. But "economic dependence on China," he warned, "only deepens their malign influence and complicates our defense decision space during times of tension."

Mr. Kim has promised to make South Korea a more reliable ally of the United States. But he has also championed an idea that will also disturb policymakers in Washington: South Korea, he said, should reintroduce American tactical nuclear weapons or prepare to build its own nuclear weapons to counter North Korea.

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War in Ukraine

NEWS ANALYSIS

Kyiv Adapts With Drone Attacks Both Strategic and Symbolic

From Page A1

"This is a stunning success for Ukraine's special services," said Justin Bronk, senior research fellow for air power and technology at the Royal United Services Institute in London.

"If even half the total claim of 41 aircraft damaged/destroyed is confirmed, it will have a significant impact on the capacity of the Russian Long Range Aviation force to keep up its regular large scale cruise missile salvos against Ukrainian cities and infrastructure, whilst also maintaining their nuclear deterrence and signaling patrols against NATO and Japan," he said in an email.

Mick Ryan, a retired Australian general and fellow at the Lowy Institute, a Sydney-based research group, said that "the proliferation of drones, open-source sensors and digital command and control systems means that long-range strikes are now a commodity available to almost every nation state, and nonstate actor, with a few million dollars and the desire to reach out and strike their adversary."

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, in comments on Monday at a NATO meeting of Baltic and Nordic countries, said the operation showed Russia that it is also subject to serious losses, and "that is what will push it toward diplomacy."

However, Mr. Ryan and other analysts cautioned that despite the nature of the attacks, they are unlikely to alter the political calculus of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who remains bent on achieving his war aims.

The operation is part of an evolving campaign.

Behind Ukraine's operation was a basic goal: Kill the archer instead of trying to stop the arrows.

It is part of an ever-evolving campaign by Ukraine to play offense rather than defense, by targeting Russian missile platforms on land, air and sea.

In December 2022, nine months into the war, Ukraine executed one of its first ambitious attacks on Russian territory, targeting two airfields hundreds of miles inside the country using long-range drones.

As the drone strikes expanded over the years, Russia adapted, erecting protective structures around fuel depots at the bases, bringing in more air defense assets and routinely repositioning its fleet.

Ukraine needed a new plan if it hoped to inflict serious damage.

They came up with "Operation Spider's Web," which Ukrainian

Ivan Nechepurenko contributed reporting from Tbilisi, Georgia, and Steven Erlanger from Berlin.



ANATOLI STEPANO/REUTERS

Ukrainian forces last week in the Donetsk region. Analysts cautioned that recent strikes were unlikely to alter the approach of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

officials said was overseen personally by Mr. Zelensky and managed directly by Vasyl Maluk, the head of Ukraine's security services, known as the S.B.U. The idea was to bring small, first-person-view, or FPV, drones close enough to the airfields to render traditional air defenses systems useless.

The Ukrainians on Monday offered an unusually detailed public account of the operation.

Over the course of many months, they said, dozens of FPV drones were transported into Russia; the scale of the operation could not be independently verified. Mr. Zelensky claimed they set up a base of operations at a warehouse close to a regional headquarters of Russia's domestic intelligence agency, known as the F.S.B.

Once the drones were smuggled into Russia, they were packed onto pallets inside wood-en transport containers with remote-controlled lids and then loaded onto trucks, the S.B.U. statement said.

There was no indication that

the drivers of the trucks knew what they were hauling, Ukrainian officials said.

Mr. Zelensky said that all of the Ukrainian agents involved in the operation had made it safely out of Russia before the operation commenced, a claim that could not be independently verified. The Russian government, in a statement on Sunday, said that some of those involved in the attack had been detained.

Ukraine planted drones inside Russia.

One video verified by The Times shows a drone approaching Belaya air base before a strike.

Other verified footage shows two drones launched from containers mounted on the back of a semi-truck less than four miles away. They fly in the direction of large smoke plumes now rising from the base. Footage recorded shortly afterward shows the same containers ablaze, their tops beside them on the ground. Ukrainian officials said in their account that the transport cars were rigged to self-destruct after

the drones were released.

Another video verified by The Times shows drones flying less than four miles from the Olenya air base. The man recording it suggests that the drones had been launched from a truck parked just down the road.

The Times could not confirm that the drones in the various videos were part of the assault.

In its assessment, Ukraine said the 41 planes accounted for 34 percent of the strategic cruise-missile carriers at air bases across three time zones. The Times was able to verify that four Tu-95 bombers and one Antonov cargo plane were hit.

Russian military bloggers claimed the Ukrainian damage estimates were inflated.

One influential Russian military blogger, Rybar, run by Mikhail Zvinchuk, put the number of damaged Russian aircraft at 13, including up to 12 strategic bombers. Another one, Fighter-bomber, believed to be run by Capt. Ilya Tumanov of the Russian Army, said in a post on Monday that only "a handful" of

strategic aircraft were hit, but even such a loss was "huge for a country that doesn't make them."

Col. Markus Reiser, a historian and officer in the Austrian Armed Forces, said that the best Western estimates suggest that Russia had slightly over 60 active Tu-95s and around 20 Tu-160 bombers. "Replacing losses will be very challenging," he said.

Ben Hodges, a retired general who commanded the U.S. Army Europe, said the available evidence suggests that the operation put a "real dent" in Russia's ability to launch large salvos of cruise missiles.

"The surprise that they achieved will have a shock on the system as the Russians try to figure out how these trucks loaded with explosives got so deep inside of Russia," he said.

The strikes raise new risks.

Mr. Zelensky said the attack was designed not only to undercut Russia's ability to bombard Ukrainian cities but to increase pressure on the Kremlin to accept an unconditional cease-fire.

"It was the Russians who chose to continue the war — even under conditions where the entire world is calling for an end to the killing," he said in his nightly address to the nation. "And pressure is truly needed — pressure on Russia that should bring it back to reality."

There was no indication that the attack had changed the Kremlin's belief that it holds an advantage over Ukraine, counting on the weakening resolve of Kyiv's allies and its ability to grind down vastly outnumbered Ukrainian forces.

There was also the risk that Ukraine's allies would be rattled by the attack and the general pattern of escalation in recent weeks as Russia steps up its own bombardments.

But Mr. Ryan said the strikes also show how Ukraine is evolving so that it is less reliant on U.S. intelligence in the event of "shut-offs" like earlier this year. The operation, he said, demonstrates "how success in war is biased toward those who learn and adapt the quickest."

New Round of Peace Talks Nets Few Results

This article is by Constant Méheut, Ivan Nechepurenko and Natalia Vasyleva.

KYIV, Ukraine — Russia and Ukraine met in Istanbul on Monday for peace talks, a day after trading some of the most intense air attacks of the war, but the discussions produced little result beyond an agreement to exchange prisoners and the bodies of fallen soldiers.

Russia and Ukraine had been expected to discuss their respective conditions for a peace deal, or at least a cease-fire, in the second round of negotiations since the two sides resumed direct dialogue two weeks ago.

But while Kyiv had shared its peace terms with Moscow ahead of the meeting, Russia presented its terms only on Monday, officials from both countries said. The Ukrainian delegation said it would need a week to review Moscow's proposal, delaying further discussion.

"We couldn't react to the Russian proposals quickly," Serhiy Kyslytsia, Ukraine's deputy foreign minister, told reporters after the talks, at a historic hotel on the European side of the Bosphorus, which lasted less than 90 minutes.

The only concrete outcome was an agreement to exchange all greatly injured and wounded soldiers, as well as those under 25. Speaking with reporters later, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine said 1,000 prisoners would be returned by each side. Both sides also announced a mutual agreement to exchange the bodies of 6,000 dead soldiers each. After the talks ended, Russian

Constant Méheut reported from Kyiv, Ukraine; Ivan Nechepurenko from Tbilisi, Georgia; and Natalia Vasyleva from Istanbul. Steven Erlanger contributed reporting.

state news agencies published Moscow's peace terms, listing the maximalist demands the Kremlin has made throughout the war, which Kyiv has flatly rejected as nothing short of capitulation. They included Ukraine's recognition of Russia's territorial gains, the shrinking of Ukraine's military designation of Russian as Ukraine's official language and a formal commitment to Ukrainian neutrality, which would rule out joining NATO.

In a separate section, the proposal stipulated that Russia would agree to a cease-fire only if Kyiv withdrew its troops from four Ukrainian regions claimed by Moscow, or if Ukraine stopped mobilizing troops and receiving weapons from abroad, and re-

No breakthroughs in a meeting lasting less than 90 minutes.

frained from committing acts of sabotage against Russia, among other conditions.

As with the previous meeting in Istanbul, substantive peace negotiations appeared to have been deferred, complicated by the two sides' entrenched positions and the changing situation on the battlefield. Ukraine's defense minister, Rustem Umerov, who headed his country's delegation, said he hoped to reconvene before the end of June but also made it clear that Ukraine "believes progress toward a peace settlement requires a meeting of the two countries' presidents."

"Without the meeting of the leaders, there will be no cease-fire," said Mr. Zelensky, who did not attend the talks.

The Kremlin has repeatedly re-

jected a meeting between President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and his Ukrainian counterpart, but Mr. Zelensky said the Russian side had agreed to discuss the idea. He said that President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey was pushing for a four-way meeting with him, President Trump, Mr. Putin and Mr. Zelensky.

Vladimir Medinsky, the head of the Russian delegation, would not say if the Russians would return for another round of talks.

While Russia has rejected the idea of a truce while a long-term settlement is negotiated, Mr. Medinsky said Russia had now offered a partial cease-fire "at different parts of the front line" for "two-three days" to help both sides recover soldiers' bodies.

Moscow and Kyiv are talking under pressure from Mr. Trump, who has alternatively cajoled and chided the leaders of both countries. But Russia and Ukraine have been holding firm, with neither expected to present conditions acceptable to the other side.

As negotiations sputter, attacks on the battlefield have intensified. The Russian Army appears to have launched a new offensive, advancing at the fastest pace since last fall and opening a new front in the Sumy region of north-eastern Ukraine. It has also bombarded Ukrainian cities with some of the biggest drone and missile attacks of the war, including a barrage of 500 drones and decoys on Sunday.

Ukraine, for its part, has adapted and evolved in the face of a much larger military with deeper resources. Ukrainian drones, in an ambitious, coordinated attack — apparently launched from within Russia — struck air bases deep inside Russia this weekend.

Video verified by The Times showed that the assault damaged



BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

or destroyed some of the long-range bombers Russia has used to fire missiles at Ukraine, in what was described as "a black day for Russian long-range aviation" by a prominent, pro-Kremlin Russian military blogger. Moscow said that several aircraft were hit, but the extent of the damage had yet to be assessed.

Mr. Zelensky said the attack demonstrated Ukraine's strength not only to Russia but also to its own allies, especially those who "used to be strong supporters but have started to doubt" — an apparent reference to the United States.

The peace talks of recent weeks, the first since the early months of the war in 2022, have been clouded by political threats. Ukraine and Russia have attempted to set the tempo and terms of the talks without angering the White House, which has threatened to withdraw from the negotiations to end the war.

Mr. Trump has accused both sides of intransigence. Last week, following a Russian attack on Kyiv, Mr. Trump lashed out at Mr. Putin, describing him on social media as having "gone absolutely CRAZY." Mr. Trump said that he was considering imposing additional sanctions on Moscow.

During the first round of talks in

Ukrainians last month in Chernihiv, Ukraine, after being freed in a swap of prisoners. Talks on Monday yielded an agreement to exchange more.

The International Criminal Court has issued arrest warrants for Mr. Putin and his commissioner for children's rights, based on the abductions.

Mr. Medinsky, an aide to Mr. Putin who headed the Russian delegation, said Russia would study the list, while insisting that "not a single child has been kidnapped" but that many Ukrainian children instead have been "rescued from a war zone." The list includes 339 names, he said.

Tens of thousands of children have been taken from Ukraine to Russia and Belarus since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine began in 2022, according to the Yale School of Public Health Humanitarian Research Lab, which has tracked the relocations.

Kyiv's goal in the negotiations remains to secure a cease-fire first, before moving to negotiations for a broader peace deal. A senior Ukrainian official, speaking on condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive negotiations, said its proposals included provisions for a cease-fire on land, at sea and in the air, with monitoring to be carried out by international partners.

As with the first Istanbul meeting, the composition of the delegations — mostly government officials with little political leverage — suggested that Monday's discussions remained limited in nature. The previous meeting yielded a larger prisoner exchange but little else.

As Moscow's troops are pushing again on the battlefield, Ukrainian officials have repeatedly expressed concerns that Russia was not interested in peace and was participating in the negotiations only to avoid alienating the White House.

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Nationalist Win in Poland Reflects a Broader Divide

By ANDREW HIGGINS

WARSAW — Tugged between two poles of Western power — the Washington of President Trump, and Brussels as a champion of liberal democracy — Poland tilted toward the Trumpian model on Monday when a nationalist historian eked out a narrow win in a presidential election.

Karol Nawrocki, an ally of Poland's populist former governing party, Law and Justice, defeated the liberal mayor of Warsaw, Rafal Trzaskowski, in the runoff held on Sunday after a polarized campaign. Mr. Trzaskowski had been supported by the country's centrist and Brussels-steeped prime minister, Donald Tusk. Mr. Nawrocki by the Trump administration.

The result, announced Monday, will have little immediate impact on Poland's domestic or foreign policies, which the president does not control. The country will continue supporting Ukraine militarily, a policy both sides agree on. Nor will the change result in a move to leave the European Union.

But the election in Poland highlights the populist struggle faced by Europe, particularly in the formerly communist East. Battles have raged over divisive issues like migration, abortion and L.G.B.T. rights. National sovereignty has also become a rallying cry on the right, against the control of the European Union. Commandate changes may see as being in conflict with traditional values and, in Poland's case, the Roman Catholic Church.

Jaroslaw Kuizs, a political ana-



SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES

Karol Nawrocki, who narrowly defeated a liberal mayor, was supported by President Trump.

A battle between 'two Wests' with very different ideologies.

lyst affiliated with the universities of Warsaw and Oxford, described it as a battle between "two Wests — two power centers that are ideologically very different." Poland, by choosing a Trump-aligned president who opposes a pro-European sitting government, he added, "has become a microcosm of a global conflict that divides the West in a way unprecedented since 1989." That was when communism collapsed across Eastern and Central Europe, leaving liberal democracy as the only true path, according to both Washington and Brussels at the time.

No longer united by faith in a single model, Poland and other countries on the European Union's eastern flank now find themselves caught between the populist nationalism of Mr. Trump and defenders of the old post-Cold War liberal order.

The Polish presidential runoff on Sunday came just two weeks after voters in Romania rejected a nationalist candidate, George Simion, in a presidential election. Mr. Simion had declared himself a "candidate on the MAGA ticket" and his defeat by a centrist raised the hopes of liberals that Europe's right-wing populist wave was receding and that the continent might return to a more stable, even keel.

Those hopes evaporated Monday. Exit polling data Sunday night showed a win for Mr. Trzaskowski. But once the ballots were counted, Mr. Nawrocki had 50.9 percent of the vote.

It was hardly an emphatic triumph for what Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary has proclaimed a "new era of the nations of Western civilization" led by Mr. Trump. But it showed that nationalism has staying power.

Victory for Mr. Nawrocki, said Michael Szuldrzynski, the editor in chief of *Rzeczpospolita*, a centrist newspaper, "heralds a period of great turbulence in Poland, and in the world — the effect of the global wave of Trumpism."

On Monday, Mr. Orban, an admirer of Mr. Trump and would-be leader of a European movement against Brussels, welcomed Mr. Trzaskowski's defeat.

France's hard-right standard-bearer, Marine Le Pen, celebrated the result as a "rejection of a Brussels oligarchy" intent on imposing

Anatol Magdziarz contributed reporting.

its policies "without any democratic will."

Whether on the left or right, voters interviewed in Warsaw on Election Day said the importance of the vote went beyond just the largely ceremonial presidency. "That is peanuts," Jan Brykczynski, 62, a psychologist, said of the presidency, after casting his vote for Mr. Trzaskowski. "The stakes are much higher," he added.

Krystyna Kwiatkowska, 61, a health care worker forced into early retirement last year by government spending cuts, said she did not particularly like Mr. Nawrocki but voted for him because she wanted to make sure that Mr. Tusk did not have a free hand. It was good for Poland to stay anchored in both Western camps, she said.

Mr. Trzaskowski, she said, had done a good job as the mayor of Warsaw. But, she added, he was not his own man because "above him there is always this red fox," using an expression the right often deploys to present Mr. Tusk as a conniving enemy of Poland's national interest.

Piotr Buras, the head of the Warsaw office of the European Council on Foreign Relations, said Mr. Nawrocki had falsely framed the election as a choice between Washington and Brussels. He had done this "for domestic political purposes" disconnected from the reality of a country that wants good relations with both, Mr. Buras added.

"Ideologically and politically, Nawrocki is the other, the other concept of the West, the one defined by Vance in Munich," he said, referring to a February speech in which Vice President JD Vance accused Europe of retreating from shared values with the United States by trying to isolate hard-right parties.

"A majority of Poles decided to go for a candidate who is close to Trump but that was not their main motivation," Mr. Buras said. Poland, he added, was "very divided but voters were not consciously choosing any foreign policy orientation."

On the campaign trail, Mr. Nawrocki assailed Mr. Tusk for, in his telling, jeopardizing Poland's traditionally strong relations with the United States, which has around 10,000 soldiers in the country and has long been viewed as the guarantor of Polish security. Last month Mr. Trump received Mr. Nawrocki in the Oval Office, an honor so far denied to the Polish minister.

Emboldened by Mr. Trump's frequent criticism of President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, Mr. Nawrocki has recently given voice to deep currents of anti-Ukrainian sentiment in Poland. Those feelings, which his history have been largely suppressed since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, with most Poles agreeing that Ukraine needs to be supported militarily as part of the defense of Europe from Russian aggression.

But Mr. Nawrocki has said he would not support future Ukrainian membership of either NATO or the European Union, neither of which is really on the table — though Mr. Orban and other European populists have used the distant possibility to bash their liberal opponents.

Mr. Zelensky, in a message written in Polish on X, congratulated Mr. Nawrocki, reminding him that Poland "was and remains the foundation of regional and European security and a strong voice in defense of the freedom and dignity of every nation."

The Polish presidency has no significant say in setting foreign, economic or other policy, which is the preserve of Mr. Tusk and his ministers. But it can act as a center of opposition to the government by deploying its veto power over legislation and the bully pulpit provided by its role as head of state.

The departing president, Andrzej Duda, is also an ally of Law and Justice, and frequently vetoed laws passed by Mr. Tusk's majority in Parliament or sent them for review by courts stacked with loyalists of the previous government.

The election of Mr. Nawrocki, a pugnacious former boxer, to replace Mr. Duda is likely to harden the logjam. It could also exacerbate tensions within Mr. Tusk's fractious coalition of liberal, leftist and conservative parties, which have a majority in Parliament but not the three-fifths of the seats needed to override a presidential veto.

Mr. Nawrocki, said Mr. Kuizs, the political analyst, "is much more conservative parties, which he is going to make life much harder for Tusk and Sikorski," referring to Poland's foreign minister, Radoslaw Sikorski.

Mr. Tusk, a former senior official in Brussels who is widely respected by mainstream European politicians, "suffers from Gorbachev syndrome," Mr. Kuizs added, referring to the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who cooperated with Washington to end the Cold War. "He is more appreciated abroad than at home,"



JEHAD ALSHRAFI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

An Israeli airstrike on Gaza City on Sunday. What little food aid exists in the territory is concentrated in the south, miles away.

New Gaza Cease-Fire Talks Stall Over Old Dispute

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — Through nearly 20 months of war in Gaza, a changing carousel of mediators and negotiators have tried — and failed — to reach a lasting truce between Hamas and Israel.

William J. Burns and Brett McGurk led the way for the Biden administration, before Steve Witkoff tried on behalf of President Trump.

Whoever the mediator, one intractable dispute has consistently prevented a deal. Hamas wants a permanent cease-fire that would essentially allow the group to re-influence in postwar Gaza. Israel wants only a temporary deal that would allow it to renew its failed efforts to defeat Hamas.

Now, once again, that fundamental difference is the main obstacle to a new truce. After a renewed flurry of mediation from Mr. Witkoff and his team last week, Hamas sought stronger guarantees that any new cease-fire would evolve into a permanent cessation of hostilities.

Though the proposed new deal would officially last for 60 days, Hamas pushed for a clause that guaranteed "the continuation of negotiations until a permanent agreement is reached." That wording would technically allow for the 60-day cease-fire to be extended indefinitely, suppering Israel's hopes of returning to battle.

Hamas's demand drew a familiar response from Israel. "Hamas's response is totally unacceptable and is a step backward," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said in a statement.

This new version of an old dispute has not immediately collapsed the negotiations. Egypt and Qatar, the two main Arab mediators, released a joint statement on Sunday in which they pledged "to intensify efforts to overcome the obstacles facing the negotiations."

Even as Mr. Witkoff condemned Hamas's response, he suggested on social media that talks over the details of a truce could "begin immediately" if the group softened its position.

Hamas subsequently said it was ready "to immediately begin a round of indirect negotiations to reach an agreement on the points of contention." But, as ever, it included a caveat: those negotiations must lead "to a permanent cease-fire and a full withdrawal of the occupation forces."

As has been the case throughout the war, much will depend on the United States' willingness to push Israel and Hamas to reach a compromise. It was President Trump's pressure that convinced Mr. Netanyahu to accept a truce in January. Mr. Netanyahu then broke the cease-fire two months later after consulting the Trump administration, a White House spokesman said at the time.

It is hard to foresee an imminent breakthrough unless one

side crosses the red lines that they

have consistently set since the final weeks of 2023. Israeli officials have suggested they could agree to a permanent truce if Hamas disarmed and its leaders left Gaza for exile. While some Hamas officials have expressed openness to some kind of compromise over their weapons, the group has publicly rejected the premise.

In the meantime, the families of Israeli hostages held in Gaza are no closer to seeing their loved ones. In Gaza, Palestinian civilians face growing hardship from

continuing Israeli airstrikes, mass displacement, widespread food shortages and a chaotic start to a new Israeli-backed aid distribution scheme. On Monday, the Israeli military issued new displacement orders for a large swath of southern Gaza, effectively ordering civilians to move to a narrow sliver of territory by the coast.

More than 4,000 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza since Israel resumed fighting in March, according to the Gaza health ministry, which does not differentiate between civilians and combatants. Munir al-Bursh, a director-general of the Gaza health ministry, said in a television interview that at least 10 more people were killed on Monday in a strike on his sister's home in Jabalya, northern Gaza. The Israeli military, which often targets Hamas members when they are at home surrounded by relatives, said that it had struck several "terror targets" in the area on Monday but that it could not provide further details on specific attacks without being provided with precise coordinates of the incident.

On both sides, internal dynamics could prove decisive in shaping what happens next. Growing dissent against Hamas could encourage the group to agree to a temporary truce to shore up its short-term control over Gaza. A rise in looting, as well as Israel's assassination of key Hamas leaders, have highlighted the group's weakening grip on the territory.

In Israel, Mr. Netanyahu's coalition could collapse if he agrees to end the war. But it is unclear if he can drag out the conflict indefinitely. The Israeli military is mainly staffed by reservists who have spent much of the last 20 months away from their day jobs and families.

Many of them are exhausted and, if the war continues, there are growing concerns that a significant number will refuse to serve as often or for such long stretches. That would make it hard for Israel's military leadership to staff ground operations, let alone implement a full occupation that would require tens of thousands of troops to sustain.

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proved highly effective in the war in Ukraine.

More than £1.5 billion of additional funding will be put into repairing and renewing housing for the military to help recruitment and retention in the British Army, where numbers have fallen to the lowest level since the Napoleonic era.

"This is the most ambitious defense review for a generation. It needed to be," said Malcolm Chalmers, the deputy director general of the Royal United Services Institute, a research organization in London.

Britain, he said, "simultaneously faces two fundamental challenges, one geopolitical and one technological."

On Monday, the government stressed the benefits for the domestic economy of investing in rearmament, but the question hanging over the new strategy is how much, in fiscally strapped times, Britain can afford to spend.

Mr. Starmer has promised to increase Britain's outlay "2.5 percent of gross national product, paying for it by diverting resources from overseas aid. Speaking to the BBC, he said Britain needed "to go on from there," but added that he could not set a precise date for when that number

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Hamas wants an end to the shelling; Israel wants to continue.

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Speaking on Monday, Mr. Starmer was at pains to restate Britain's commitment to NATO and the trans-Atlantic alliance, a strategy he has pursued by assiduously cultivating Mr. Trump on security and trade issues.

The review also suggested purchasing fighter jets capable of firing tactical nuclear weapons, a potential harbinger of declining British dependence on the American nuclear umbrella.

Writing on social media, Mike Martin, a lawmaker for the Liberal Democrats and a military veteran, said that the details known so far about the review were a "sign that the U.K. government no longer fully respects the Americans to be engaged in European security."

He wrote: "The drop dead giveaway is the air dropped nuclear weapons," adding that "this is a key capability that the U.S. provides to its allies in the calculation without going all the way up to destroying Moscow with nuclear weapons fired from our submarines."

British governments have produced defense reviews at least once a decade since World War II. The last one was conducted in 2021 and updated in 2023.

Mr. Robertson, who is now a member of the House of Lords, was assisted by Fiona Hill, a former adviser to the first Trump administration, and Richard Barrons, a former deputy chief of Britain's defense staff. Ms. Hill, a British-born expert on Russia, emerged as a vocal critic of Mr. Trump's dealings with Mr. Putin after she left the National Security Council in July 2019.

U.K. Faces Greatest Threat Since Cold War, Starmer Says

By STEPHEN CASTLE and MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Prime Minister Keir Starmer of Britain vowed Monday to bring his country to "war-fighting readiness," announcing plans to build up to 12 new attack submarines and invest billions of pounds in weapons, to fortify for a world caught between a hostile, aggressive Russia and a retrenching United States.

The ambitious rearmament is part of a strategic defense review by the government, which laid out the threatening new landscape and called for increased production of drones and the stockpiling of more munitions and equipment.

The threat we now face is more serious, more immediate and more unpredictable than at any time since the Cold War," Mr. Starmer said on Monday at a shipyard in Glasgow.

He pointed to "war in Europe, new nuclear risks, daily cyberattacks" and "growing Russian aggression," in British waters and skies.

As if to underline his ominous message, Mr. Starmer presented his plans hours after one of the most intense aerial bombardments of the three-year war in Ukraine, with Ukrainian drones striking air bases deep in Russian territory.

The strategic review, led by George Robertson, a former secretary general of NATO, was set up last year soon after Mr. Starmer won a general election. But its task was given fresh urgency amid growing evidence of President Trump's weakened commitment to European security and his ambivalent and, at times, infuriating attitude toward President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

Among the review's recommendations: the procurement of up to 7,000 British-built long-range weapons and the creation of a new cybercommand, alongside an investment of a billion pounds, equivalent to \$1.35 billion, in digital capability. Money will be invested in protecting critical British underwater infrastructure as well as in drones, which have



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Far From Home: Uyghurs in Factories Supplying Global Brands

From Page A1

much more difficult endeavor.

By the best available estimates, tens of thousands of Uyghurs now toil in these programs. The workers are paid, but the conditions they face are unclear. And U.N. labor experts, scholars and activists say the programs fit well-documented patterns of forced labor.

China makes no secret of these labor transfer programs. It says that participation is voluntary and argues that moving Uyghurs into jobs across the country gives them economic opportunities and helps address chronic poverty in Xinjiang.

But experts and activists say that Uyghurs usually have no choice but to accept the job assignments, and that the programs are part of Beijing's efforts to exert control over a minority population that has historically resisted Chinese rule. As many as 12 million Uyghurs, a Muslim people from Central Asia, reside in Xinjiang, which shares a border with Kazakhstan.

In the United States, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act bars imports from Xinjiang unless the importer can prove that the goods were not made with forced labor. Forced labor has been reported in different forms in Xinjiang, in prisons, mass internment camps and large-scale relocation programs within the region, and, the U.S. government says, in the production of cotton, textiles, critical minerals and solar panels.

The U.S. law also bars imports from companies outside Xinjiang that work with the government to receive workers from Xinjiang who are Uyghur or members of other persecuted groups.

But that provision is difficult to enforce, leaving a blind spot for those trying to root out forced labor from supply chains.

The transfer of Uyghur workers from Xinjiang is a potential flashpoint in the trade war between China and the Trump administration, which has accused Beijing of "ripping off" the United States and producing goods at artificially low costs, including through exploitative labor conditions. Marco Rubio, the secretary of state, was one of the 2021 law's lead authors when he was a Florida senator.

Working 14 Hours a Day

Our findings are based on an examination of publicly available government and corporate announcements, state news media reports, social media posts and research papers. Among them are local government notices describing the number of Uyghurs transferred to factory sites, and state media reports on meetings in which officials discuss how to manage Uyghur workers. Some show photos of workers in neat rows at train stations before departing Xinjiang.

The scale of the labor transfers is evident on Chinese social media, where Uyghurs have posted videos of themselves leaving home, working on factory lines and posing outside dormitories. We determined where the videos were shot by comparing the features of buildings and streets with satellite imagery, street-view maps and publicly available photographs of factories.

Some videos show other Central Asian minorities from Xinjiang, including Kazakhs and Kyrgyz people, who also face persecution and are covered by the U.S. law.

Reporters from The Times and Der Spiegel visited the areas around two dozen factories linked to Uyghur labor in eight cities in the central provinces of Hubei and the eastern province of Jiangsu, and spoke to more than three dozen workers as well as the owners of restaurants and other businesses frequented by them.

We did not ask interviewees for their names to minimize the risk of retaliation by the authorities, who consider the treatment of Uyghurs to be a national security issue. (We are also not disclosing the names of the people whose social media videos we found, and we have blurred their faces in some photos to avoid exposing them.)

Several workers suggested, with some hesitation, that they labored under close supervision.

They said their jobs had been arranged for them and that they sometimes needed permission to leave factory grounds, usually upon arrival. Security guards at some factories also confirmed they had been sent Uyghur workers by government agencies.

Other workers said that they had taken on the jobs willingly and were staying in them of their own accord.

One worker in Hubei Province told The Times that he and about 300 other Uyghurs lived in a dormitory separated from staff identified as from the majority Han Chinese population. He said they were assigned minders from their home province in Xinjiang, were allowed to leave the factory premises and could return to Xinjiang if they gave a month's notice.

He said he worked up to 14 hours a day and earned a monthly salary of up to 6,000 yuan, or \$827, about the national average for factory workers. The interview ended abruptly when several men surrounded the worker and demanded to know who he was and why he was not at work.

Human rights advocates argue that Uyghurs have little choice but to accept such job assignments outside Xinjiang if they refuse, they risk being labeled a "troublemaker," a serious charge in a region where people have been subjected to lengthy detentions for even the faintest signs of dissent or religious expression, like owning a Quran. At the same time, the jobs offer the promise of a higher wage, in contrast to the limited opportunities and tight surveillance that Uyghurs face in Xinjiang.

The vast majority of Xinjiang's labor

LABOR TRANSFER State-directed programs have been part of Beijing's efforts to assimilate Uyghurs since the early 2000s, with China's Communist Party promoting the notion that labor is honorable. But the programs grew significantly around 2017.



"Warmly send off Hotan migrant workers to transfer and work in the mainland"



SOURCES: XINJIANG AIRPORT GROUP; GULON, CHINA DAILY; NANGTSE EVENING POST

Top, a ceremony for a group of workers transferring from the Xinjiang city of Hotan in 2020. Above, workers wearing badges that read, "Honor." One expert on China said the program "is a long-term mechanism of social control."

'LOYALTY' Uyghur factory workers undergo ideological training that experts say is often mandatory in job transfer programs. The activity is about "showing loyalty to the Communist Party," said Yalqun Uluoy, the China researcher at Human Rights Watch.



Images from video show workers raising fists and pledging allegiance before a Chinese flag, evidence of the ideological training. Left, at a poultry plant in Suizhou, Hubei Province, and right, at another in Dalian, Liaoning Province.

HOMESICK Some video postings by workers hint at feelings of longing for home, at times using Uyghur poetry.



In a video posted by a Uyghur worker looking out of a train window, a voice-over says, "What separates us from our parents and our home . . . and lures us into slavery? Yes, money."



Another worker, at a poultry processor, posted a clip with a voice-over in Chinese that said, "The place with a home has no work. The place with work has no home."



In another clip, the footage is accompanied by a Uyghur song with the lyrics: "In my eyes, tears of sorrow. . . ."

threats to stability and "encourage and guide Xinjiang people to go to the Chinese interior to find employment."

Uyghur activists accuse Beijing of relocating Uyghurs in an attempt to change the demographic composition of Xinjiang and erase expressions of Uyghur and Muslim identity.

"This is not about poverty alleviation. This is about dispersing Uyghurs as a group and breaking their roots," said Rayhan Asat, a human rights lawyer at the Atlantic Council whose brother has been imprisoned in Xinjiang since 2016.

If multinational brands cannot guarantee that their suppliers are free of forced labor, then they should find other suppliers that they can guarantee are, or pull out of China altogether, Ms. Asat said.

In a written response, the Chinese Embassy in Washington denied that forced labor is used in Xinjiang, saying that such allegations were "nothing but vicious lies concocted by anti-China forces." It said that China rejected the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, calling it an interference in China's internal affairs.

The statement also asserted that all residents in Xinjiang "enjoy happy and fulfilling lives" and that the government's policies in the region are focused on making the region safer. "Xinjiang-related issues are not human rights issues at all, but in essence about countering violent terrorism and separatism," it said.

Little is known about the lives of the Uyghurs sent to work in factories across China.

Censors frequently scrub the internet of anything deemed critical or unfavorable of the government. Still, social media provides a window.

Some videos show workers raising their right fists and pledging allegiance before a Chinese flag, evidence of the ideological training that experts say is often mandatory for Uyghur workers on such job programs.

The activity is about "showing loyalty to the Communist Party," said Yalqun Uluoy, the China researcher at Human Rights Watch.

Thwarting a Law

From outside, a sprawling white and blue factory complex in the central Chinese city of Jingmen looks like a giant sheet cake.

Behind its walls, workers make automotive and aerospace equipment, specializing in lightweight aluminum chassis parts and brake systems.

The Hubei Hangte Equipment Manufacturing Company's website displays the logos of customers such as Volkswagen, Mercedes-Benz, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Mazda and Hyundai. But it says nothing about the pipeline of Uyghur workers from Xinjiang that the company relies on.

News releases posted elsewhere say government officials visited the factory to check on workers sent from Xinjiang as recently as April last year.

And a video posted by a state-owned human resources company that helps facilitate labor transfers, Xinjiang Zhengcheng Mini Modern Enterprise Services, indicates that the company recruited workers for the factory in August 2023.

The previous year, Hubei Hangte hosted a meeting with Communist Party officials and educators from Xinjiang and described measures it had taken to better manage workers from the region. That included ensuring that their activities were "controllable" and that they refrained from "laxity," "drinking" and, curiously, "swimming in groups."

"We will strive to make Hangte a model unit for employment of Xinjiang people in Jingmen City," Chen Yun, the company's deputy general manager, said in a statement posted online at the time.

Xinjiang Zhengcheng Mini Modern Enterprise Services and Hubei Hangte did not respond to requests for comment.

BMW acknowledged that Hubei Hangte may provide parts to one of its direct suppliers. It said it has asked that supplier to investigate Volkswagen, Mercedes-Benz and Chrysler's parent company, Stellantis, and said they had opened investigations.

Mazda said it had no "direct" relationship with Hubei Hangte, and General Motors, Ford and Hyundai said they prohibited forced labor in their supply chains but declined to answer questions about Hubei Hangte.

Shipment records provided by a trade data firm show that since May 2021, Hubei Hangte's parts have been shipped to India, Indonesia, Mexico, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Canada, as well as the United States, where shipments would be subject to the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

One U.S. customer of the Chinese company is a subsidiary of the German auto parts manufacturer Mahle Industrial Thermal Systems, which said in a statement that it prohibits the use of forced labor by its suppliers. Mahle did not answer questions about Hubei Hangte.

Another transaction that may violate the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act occurred last July, when a Chinese manufacturer of computer equipment known as Transimage sent at least two shipments to a San Diego address for Samsung America Electronics, according to trade data.

Transimage, also known as Jiangsu Chuangyi Technology Company Ltd., received help recruiting workers from a labor dispatch center in Akqi County in Xinjiang in 2023, according to a post on a local government social media account. Social media posts by workers show employees at the factory who appear to be Kyrgyz, with long, braided hair, embroidered with the company's name.

Transimage did not respond to requests for comment. Samsung said in a statement that it found no evidence of forced labor at Jiangsu Chuangyi Technology, adding that it "prohibits its suppliers from using all forms of forced labor."

National

The New York Times

Trump Holds Up Subsidy for Local Food, and a Family Farm Is Pinched

Federal Program Helped Poor to Gain Nutrients, And Growers to Expand

By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON

COBDEN, Ill. — On a chilly morning in April, Austin Flamm strode through grassy lanes fringed with delicate peach and apple blossoms. Mr. Flamm, 29, and his cousin Parker, 28, are the sixth generation of their family to produce fruit and vegetables on an Illinois farm that in 2024 gave them the best profits they have had since they joined the operation.

The gains were largely because Flamm Orchards had joined a program, IL-EATS, funded by the Biden-era Agriculture Department, that bought and distributed local produce to the poor. Mr. Flamm's skepticism of government programs made him wary of IL-EATS at first. But he changed his mind when he saw the prices he was offered for his cauliflower, broccoli and other vegetables.

"It was a win for us on the farm," Mr. Flamm said. "And the food banks that are constantly looking for donations had something to offer."

Then the new Trump administration froze more than \$1 billion for local food programs, including funding for IL-EATS. Flamm Orchards was suddenly at risk. Mr. Flamm, a farmer from a conservative stronghold, became an unlikely activist fighting to save a Biden-era program that had helped him and his neediest neighbors.

"The left is doing what the left does. These were Covid-era programs," Brooke Rollins, the agriculture secretary, said on Fox News, adding that "from what we are viewing, that program was nonessential."

Mr. Flamm, who said he believed it is his patriotic duty to support the sitting president, sees it differently.

"When you're talking about providing nutritional assistance to low-income families, what is more nonpartisan than that?" he said. "There's poor people on both sides, and everybody needs a meal."

A Way to 'Prop Us Up'

Flamm Orchards is in the village of Cobden, in the rolling southern tip of Illinois. The dryer, warmer hilltop elevations help protect fragile fruit tree blossoms from frost and pests. Orchards are part of the region's identity: The Cobden High School team is called the Appleknockers, derived from the old practice of knocking down excess apples on a branch with a club so that the remaining fruit grows.

Mr. Flamm's great-great-grandfather, an immigrant from Germany's Rhine River valley, bought 117 acres here in 1888. Over the years his descendants expanded the farm to 2,000 acres.

Orchards are specialty growers, a small niche in an American farming hierarchy dominated by mammoth global commodities producers. Specialty crops are labor intensive, rely heavily on local buyers and get relatively little government support.

And yet as the region's family farms have shrunk over the last 50 years, Flamm Orchards has expanded. "The generation ahead of us was very progressive," said Jeff Flamm, Austin's father. "And they weren't afraid to take a chance."

Beginning in the 1960s, that generation pioneered tree varieties that produced peaches from the end of June through Labor Day, and Red Delicious apples no other local orchard grew at the time.

In the 1980s, Austin and Parker's parents' generation began growing a few vegetables, and eventually added squash and cucumbers to the fruit they sold to Kroger and Walmart. By 2010, every Walmart in Illinois carried Flamm Orchards apples.

The family runs a retail farm stand and a bakery whose peach cobbler is "almost world famous," Austin Flamm said. The orchard introduced strawberries around 2000, and sold hundreds of thousands of quarts from its farm stand during the pandemic, when supply chain breakdowns swelled demand for local food.

But in 2022, Walmart began buying more fruit from foreign orchards. "We got cut off," Mr. Flamm said. "You could drive to the Walmart 10 minutes away, and they had apples from Chile and New Zealand on the shelf. That was painful."

That same year Mr. Flamm learned that Illinois would participate in the Agriculture Department's Local Food Purchase Assistance program, or L.F.P.A. IL-



A greenhouse and covered crops at the Flamm farm in Cobden, Ill. Below, Austin Flamm, left, and his cousin Parker Flamm in a peach orchard at their farm.



'When you're talking about providing nutritional assistance to low-income families, what is more nonpartisan than that?'

AUSTIN FLAMM.

a farmer who was part of a federal program that provided local produce to the poor.

Bost's office has since said he is booked through August.

"He is one of the few people in a position to be able to tell Secretary Rollins, 'Look, this is not a pandemic program,'" Ms. Stelk said. "This was lessons learned about the need for a resilient food system."

In a May 6 hearing before a Senate agriculture subcommittee, senators from both parties grilled Ms. Rollins about the frozen grants for food aid. Senator Martin Heinrich, Democrat of New Mexico, asked her what she would say to farmers who made investments in planting for programs now halted.

"Could you send me specific information on that?" Ms. Rollins responded. "I would love to get more details on that and what that looks like."

In mid-May, Mr. Flamm contacted Mr. Bost's aide again. He wondered whether the secretary's request for details meant the administration might reverse the cuts. Mr. Flamm said that she told him it was "over with," although the aide assured him that the congressman was "looking at providing some kind of assistance to specialty growers."

At that point, Mr. Flamm had already planted 100 acres of vegetables. When the money for the program runs out in a few weeks, he and Parker will try to sell their extra vegetables to grocery distributors as far away as St. Louis, about 100 miles northwest.

"I don't know where we'll go with all of it," he said. They will pay for the new kitchen themselves.

In a statement last week, Mr. Bost echoed Ms. Rollins, saying the program was funded with "surplus money intended for pandemic-era emergencies" and was not intended to be permanent. He said that he and his staff were in contact with farmers across the 34 counties in his district.

"We fully appreciate the dire situation they're facing," he said, adding that he was fighting for the farm bill to help them. The Biden administration, he said, "did our farmers a massive disservice by misleading them into believing" the local food money would continue.

"I never thought this program was going to be permanent," Mr. Flamm said. "I thought it was going to last two years, and Illinois only got one before it was cut."

Mr. Flamm estimated that the lost funding had cost him \$750,000 this year in labor, seeds, planting, infrastructure and other expenses. He called it "a bump in the road" compared with another, more profound potential loss.

"I've got a 2-year-old son, and Parker's got a son due in June," he said. "If they want to come to the farm, I want it to still be here."

'Everybody Was Up in Arms'

After President Trump took office in January, the Flamm cousins and their fathers drove the three hours to Springfield, the state capital, for an annual Illinois specialty growers meeting. They had heard there might be an announcement of their infrastructure grant.

Instead, "we find out the money is going to be gone," Austin Flamm said. They learned the local produce grant was frozen, too. The state had enough money left to buy produce through June 30. But the 2025 money, nearly \$15 million, was likely lost.

"Everybody was up in arms," Mr. Flamm said. "And the big push was, 'Stay patient, because they're going to come back and give this a closer look. They'll see reason.'"

Mr. Flamm decided that "between now and the end of June, we keep pushing on the decision makers of the world, and hopefully we get that money back."

"My long-term, more important goal is: We've got to see it in the farm bill," he added, referring to the massive spending bill plagued by delays and bitter policy disputes.

Mr. Flamm has been active in the American Farm Bureau Federation, the nation's largest farmers' advocacy group, which is seen as more conservative than the second-largest such group, the National Farmers Union. He enjoys a good rapport with a legislative assistant for Representative Mike Bost, a conservative Republican on the House Agriculture Committee. The orchard is among his district's biggest employers.

Most important for the farm's bottom line, the money from the vegetable sales allowed the family to jump start the building of an industrial kitchen for cobblers, shortcake and strawberry and peach jams, in anticipation of a \$100,000 matching infrastructure grant from the Agriculture Department.

In late March, Mr. Flamm wrote an email to an aide to Mr. Bost asking the congressman to support the local food program.

"Although it is always our goal to adapt, evolve, overcome and conquer industry shifts and increasing regulatory and monetary barriers, it seems to be becoming more and more difficult each season," he wrote.

"During a time that an 'America First' agenda is able to take precedence, why would we not want to bolster our economy, our farmers and our food insecure families all in one swoop?"

There was no reply from Mr. Bost. A few weeks later, the aide apologized to Mr. Flamm, saying the office was overwhelmed with calls.

An Unlikely Alliance

Liz Moran Stelk, the executive director of the Illinois Stewardship Alliance, a grass-roots organization that helped shape IL-EATS, said that contrary to Ms. Rollins's assertions, IL-EATS is not a pandemic relief program. In an effort to save it, she, Mr. Flamm and other farmers tried to persuade Mr. Bost to meet with them during the March congressional recess.

Ms. Stelk and Mr. Flamm were not natural allies, given his doubts about the group's views on sustainable farming. But in this case, he said, "a common enemy makes a close friend."

Mr. Bost did not meet with them, although in April an aide convened a virtual meeting with Mr. Flamm and about eight other constituent farmers. Mr.



From left, Sergio Chavez pruning peach trees at Flamm Orchards; jam cooked from Flamm peaches; and a delivery truck at the farm, which sells produce to local programs to feed poor people.

The 47th President

FACT CHECK

Trump and Allies Sell Domestic Bill With Falsehoods

By LINDA QIU

As the Senate considers a domestic policy bill to enact the White House's agenda, President Trump and his allies have sought to assuage some lawmakers' concerns over its price tag and cuts to Medicaid with inaccurate claims about the effect of the "one big, beautiful bill" on the deficit as incorrect and described cuts to the insurance program for poor Americans as trimming "waste, fraud and abuse."

Here's a fact-check of some of their claims.

WHAT WAS SAID

"We're not doing any cutting of anything meaningful. The only thing we're cutting is waste, fraud and abuse. With Medicaid, waste, fraud and abuse. There's tremendous waste, fraud and abuse."

— Mr. Trump, in remarks to reporters on May 20.

False. The House-passed bill will reduce federal spending on Medicaid by at least \$600 billion over a decade and reduce the federal share of about 10.3 million people, according to a preliminary estimate from the Congressional Budget Office. But most of the changes to Medicaid have little to do with waste, fraud or abuse as defined by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Service.

Edwin Park, a professor at Georgetown whose research focuses on Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program, said some provisions could qualify as cutting "waste, fraud and abuse," like increasing assessments to ensure beneficiaries are not deceased.

But most other provisions fit into several categories of cuts to the restrictions, according to Professor Park, targeting Medicaid expansion, limiting states' ability to finance Medicaid, imposing red tape on beneficiaries, rolling back protections against

medical debt, forcing states to drop coverage, and limiting access to care and long-term care.

"These are cuts that will take away coverage and access from many millions of low-income Medicaid beneficiaries," he said. "One cannot credibly claim that these provisions involve curbing 'fraud, waste and abuse.'"

For example, a few specific provisions allow states to impose mandatory co-payments for some medical services, block a rule that would increase staffing requirements for nursing homes, and limit the window for retroactive payments. It is unclear how these would address "waste, fraud and abuse."

The single largest source for savings — estimated to be \$280 billion — comes from a new requirement for Medicaid recipients to provide proof of employment.

With the exception of a few state pilot programs, Medicaid eligibility is not and has not historically been tied to employment. (Rather, it is income-based.) While about 64 percent of adult recipients already work part-time or full-time, those who do not work can still qualify under current eligibility criteria.

Supporters of work requirements argue that they sift out those who refuse to work from the truly needy, but that is a



HAIYUN HANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

policy preference, not a claim of unemployed recipients defrauding the current system. Opponents, for their part, note that work requirements in pilot programs have done little to encourage employment and instead create an impediment for those who already work or have qualifying exemptions like a disability, but struggle to meet the new reporting requirements.

WHAT WAS SAID

"The One Big Beautiful Bill also helps get our fiscal house in order by carrying out the largest deficit reduction in nearly 30 years with \$1.6 trillion in mandatory savings."

— Caroline Leavitt, the White House press secretary, on May 22.

"I also want to take the opportunity to debunk some false claims that have been circulating in the press about this bill. The blatantly wrong claim that the One Big Beautiful Bill increases the deficit is based on the Congressional Budget Office and other scorekeepers who use shoddy assumptions and have historically been terrible at forecasting across

Democrat and Republican administrations alike."

— Ms. Leavitt on May 29.

False. The Congressional Budget Office and a number of independent analysts have estimated that the bill would balloon federal deficits by well over \$1 trillion, even when economic growth is factored in.

The budget office estimated an increase in the deficit of \$3.8 trillion; the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget estimated \$3.1 trillion including interest; the Penn Wharton Budget Model estimated \$2.8 trillion; and the Tax Foundation estimated \$1.7 trillion when factoring in economic growth.

Ms. Leavitt argued that in its forecasts for the 2017 tax cuts, the budget office had incorrectly predicted economic growth by "nearly two full percentage points" and that its projections for this year's House bill included "anemic growth assumptions."

But the budget office's forecasts have been more or less accurate. The budget office did not assess macroeconomic impact in its score of the 2017 tax

bill, but it did factor in the tax cut in its annual economic outlook in April 2018. The budget office projected then that economic growth would average 1.9 percent over a decade, reaching 3.3 percent in 2018 and 2.4 percent in 2019.

That ended up not too far from actual economic growth of 3 percent in 2018 and 2.6 percent in 2019.

The Congressional Budget Office's revenue projections, too, were "surprisingly good, especially considering all the major unpredictable subsequent events, including oil price shocks in 2018 and Covid-19," said Kent Smetters, the director of the Penn Wharton Budget Model.

The budget office estimated in April 2018 that revenue collection would total \$27 trillion from the 2018 to 2024 fiscal years. Actual revenue was \$1.5 trillion higher, but that difference is almost entirely attributable to higher inflation and economic shifts that occurred under the pandemic, experts agreed.

"Not sure what shoddy assumptions someone is seeing, but advocates who claim this bill will improve the fiscal situation are

Protesting the House-passed bill, which would reduce federal Medicaid spending.

completely at odds with all serious outside experts who conclude it would increase borrowing by trillions," said Maya McGuineas, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

WHAT WAS SAID

"We are not cutting Medicaid in this package. There's a lot of misinformation out there about this, Jake. The numbers of Americans who are affected are those that are entwined in our work to eliminate fraud, waste and abuse. So, what do I mean by that? You got more than 1.4 million illegal aliens on Medicaid."

— Speaker Mike Johnson, in an appearance on CNN on May 25.

False. Again, the House bill would reduce federal Medicaid spending by hundreds of billions of dollars over a decade and reduce enrollment by 10 million people. Mr. Johnson's figure of 1.4 million unauthorized immigrants enrolled in Medicaid is incorrect.

Unauthorized immigrants are not eligible for federally funded Medicaid, except in emergency situations. States are required to verify immigration status to determine eligibility. Some 78 million people were enrolled in the federal Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program in January the latest month with available data.

But 14 states and the District of Columbia use their own funds to provide insurance for undocumented immigrant children, and seven of those states also extend coverage to some adult immigrants like pregnant women.

The bill penalizes those 14 states and D.C. by reducing their share of federal funding.

The bill would leave 7.6 million uninsured, including 1.4 million people "without verified citizenship, nationality, or satisfactory immigration status who would be covered in state-only funded programs under current law."

Opposing the President, With Fear and Resolve

By CATIE EDMONDSON

ANCHORAGE — Senator Lisa Murkowski was listing all the ways that President Trump's efforts to slash the federal government had harmed Alaska, from the funds freights on programs the state depends on to the layoffs of federal workers who live there, when she delivered something of an understatement.

"It's a challenging time right now," she recently told a crowd at a state infrastructure conference here in the state's largest city. "I could use nice words about it — but I don't."

At a time when the Republican Congress has grown increasingly confrontational to Mr. Trump, Ms. Murkowski has veered in the opposite direction from her party, using sharp words and her vote on the Senate floor to push back on him and his administration time and again.

She opposed the confirmations of Pete Hegseth, the defense secretary, and Kash Patel, the F.B.I. director. She has voted repeatedly to block Mr. Trump's sweeping tariffs on most U.S. trading partners. She has publicly lamented Republican obedience to Mr. Trump as he tramples on legislative prerogatives, saying that it is "time for Congress to reassert itself."

She's dressing-down of President Donald Trump, she said, "I train left her 'sick to my stomach,' and recently called his decision to end deportation protections for Afghan refugees "a historic betrayal."

And she has been frank about the dilemma faced by Republicans like her who are dismayed about the president's policies and pronouncements but worried that speaking out about them could bring death threats or worse.

"We are all afraid," she told constituents in April, adding, "I sometimes worry very anxious myself about using my voice, because retaliation is real. And that's not right."

Now, as Senate Republicans take up sprawling legislation carrying Mr. Trump's domestic agenda, Ms. Murkowski is poised to become one of the most influential voices demanding changes to her party's signature bill.

She has already indicated that there are at least two major provisions in the measure that she does not support: adding stringent new work requirements to Medicaid, and the termination of clean energy tax credits established under the Biden administration, a repeal that Speaker Mike Johnson accelerated to help win the support of conservatives to muscle the legislation through the House.

"There are provisions in there that are very, very, very challenging, if not impossible, for us to im-

plement," Ms. Murkowski said of the work requirements the day after the House passed its bill.

Senate Republicans have a relatively small majority, with three votes to spare. And a number of other G.O.P. senators have publicly aired qualms with the bill's provisions dealing with Medicaid, including Josh Hawley of Missouri and Susan Collins of Maine. Rand Paul of Kentucky and Ron Johnson of Wisconsin have agitated for even deeper cuts to the program and others like it, warning that the bill as passed by the House would balloon federal deficits to unacceptable levels.

But when the Club for Growth, the anti-tax group, unveiled an ad campaign last week pressing the Senate to pass the bill, they targeted a single Republican who they said must act to avoid a looming tax hike.

"It's in Lisa Murkowski's hands to stop it by extending and expanding Trump's tax cuts," says the ad, which is running in both Alaska and Washington. "Tell Murkowski: Don't block Trump's agenda."

Mr. Trump has made it clear that he does not appreciate Ms. Murkowski's dissent, including her among a group of Republican senators he called "unbelievably disloyal."

Ms. Murkowski, who at 68 is serving her fourth full term in the Senate, has never been easily cowed by the prevailing political winds in her party. She was first appointed to the Senate in 2002 by her father, Senator Frank Murkowski, who had served there for two decades before resigning to become governor of Alaska. And she has held on to the seat through a period of remarkable political upheaval inside the G.O.P., maintaining a centrist bend and an independent streak along the way.

In 2010, after she was defeated in her Republican primary and lost the support of party leaders in Washington, she won re-election in a write-in campaign.

More recently, she defeated a Trump-backed rival in 2022 to keep her seat, overcoming a conservative backlash against her independent streak and her vote to convict Mr. Trump in his impeachment trial for incitement of insurrection in Jan. 6, 2021, at attack on the Capitol.

Now, Ms. Murkowski has another, more urgent reason to be outspoken. Alaska relies more heavily on federal funding and programs than perhaps any other state in the country, with roughly 37 percent of the state's annual budget coming from the federal government, according to the Foraker Group, a nonpartisan group that serves Alaska's nonprofit and tribal organizations.



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Lisa Murkowski said she was often "very anxious" when speaking out against President Trump, "because retaliation is real."

She has said that it is not uncommon lately for her constituents — many of them simply address her as "Lisa," an informality running back to when Alaskans referred to the late Senator Ted Stevens as "Uncle Ted" — to approach her in tears.

"I do feel like I'm shouldering the concerns from many Alaskans that have stopped me, that have shared their worries — whether it's reduction in forces, cuts to grants, impacts that we're seeing from some of the abrupt actions being in Washington, D.C.," Ms. Murkowski, who declined to be interviewed for this story, said recently on Alaska Public Radio.

Already the reverberations from Washington have shaken the Last Frontier State. Millions of dollars in federal grants for public health initiatives and infrastructure projects were frozen or canceled. Firings and forced resignations have swept National Weather Service employees in the state and the National Marine Fisheries Service, responsible for managing the nation's seafood harvest.

The sprawling nature of the state also means that many everyday services typically provided by local governments — like emergency and utility services — are provided by nonprofits, which rely heavily on federal funds.

"There's a lot of anxiety, a lot of fear and — I think some would say by design — a lot of confusion," said Laurie Wolf, the president of the Foraker Group. "There is no single source of information about what funding is in place or not in

place, or frozen or under review. There's no source of information, so all we have is, one by one by one, people telling us what's happening."

Two laws passed during the Biden administration, a sweeping climate law and the bipartisan infrastructure law, which Ms. Murkowski helped write and called "one of the most consequential legislative efforts I've worked on," delivered Alaska billions of dollars of federal money. Under the infrastructure bill, Alaska received the most funding

Poised to become an influential voice on a signature G.O.P. bill.

per capita in the country — a total of more than \$8 billion.

Almost immediately after Mr. Trump began his second term, his administration moved to freeze or cancel those funds.

"We're having a crazy moment right now, where we're going from a once-in-a-lifetime infrastructure and infusion of money to resources to a change in policy where it's 'uncertainty,'" said Ben Mallott, the president of the Alaska Federation of Natives, the state's largest statewide Native organization.

That has turned Ms. Murkowski into a one-woman lobbyist. "It has to be multifaceted,

because everything and everybody is different," she said recently at another event in Anchorage. "I have been collecting a lot of new phone numbers to send texts to about busy people."

She has texted Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick after the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration planned to fire thousands of workers; called Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, to express her opposition to the White House's proposal to eliminate Head Start; and pressed Susie Wiles, the White House chief of staff, on plans to gut AmeriCorps.

She recounted the time she texted Mr. Lutnick, a former New York-based financier, about concerns among Alaska's fishermen that mass layoffs at NOAA would upend their halibut and sablefish harvests.

"Now for him, that's nothing but gobbledygook. So I sent a second text saying, 'Have you ever had black cod at a fancy restaurant when it's soaked in miso? It's really good. This is what I'm talking about,'" Ms. Murkowski said, referring to the dish made famous by Nobu Matsuhisa. "He responded instantly after I said that."

Her biggest fight may be yet to come. Ms. Murkowski has said she worries that major cuts to Medicaid could be "devastating" to her state, where close to 40 percent of Alaskan children receive coverage through the program. A report commissioned by the state government last year found that 24 percent of the state's adults re-

ceive services through Medicaid — up from 11 percent a decade ago, primarily because of the expansion of the program spurred by the Affordable Care Act.

At issue are the work requirements that House Republicans approved for the program to scale back its cost, which would begin at the end of 2026, a timeline Ms. Murkowski has said may be difficult for Alaska to adopt.

"In Alaska, it's just a little bit different: If you're out in a rural area where you don't have the opportunity for jobs, unless you are to move into the city, or you're the full-time caregiver for someone in your family," she said. "These are considerations that I think need to be taken into account. Having some level of flexibility that is directed by states, as opposed to a national level."

The Alaska Legislature voted in May to urge the state's congressional delegation to oppose cuts to Medicaid.

Ms. Murkowski, by her own account, has encouraged her constituents to "continue to raise your voice."

Referring to a series of demonstrations that Alaskans have held to protest cuts to federal programs, Ms. Murkowski said, "I'm not running from that."

"I'm saying, 'Good, continue to speak up,'" she said on a local radio show. "Because as soon as Alaskans stop speaking up, it's going to let your lawmakers know that, I guess we're just OK with things. And as I've listened to Alaskans, I don't think Alaskans are saying things are OK."

Conservatives Unite Behind a Fiery Brief That Imperils Trump's Tariffs

WASHINGTON — A powerful sign that President Trump's tariff-driven trade war is at risk came in April by a coalition that included many prominent conservative and libertarian lawyers, scholars and former officials.

The brief was also a signal of a deepening rift between Mr. Trump and the conservative legal movement, one that burst into public view last week with the president's attacks on the Federalist Society, whose leaders helped pick the judges and justices he nominated in his first term.

Among the people who signed the brief in the tariffs case was Richard Epstein, who teaches at New York University and is an influential libertarian legal scholar.

"You have to understand that the conservative movement is now, as an intellectual movement, consistently anti-Trump on most issues," he said.

Others who signed the brief, filed in the U.S. Court of International Trade, included Steven G. Calabresi, a founder of the Federalist Society; Michael B. Mukasey, a former federal judge who served as attorney general under President George W. Bush; and three former Republican senators — George F. Allen, John C. Danforth and Chuck Hagel. The brief was signed by liberals, too, including Harold Koh, a former dean of Yale Law School.

"The brief unites big-name constitutional law scholars across the political spectrum in a way I have rarely seen," said Ilya Somin, a law professor at George Mason University and a lawyer for a wine importer and other businesses that sued over the tariffs.

"I never would have expected to see Richard Epstein, Steve Calabresi and Harold Koh all on the same brief on a major issue," he said. "But here they are, together, opposing 'taxation by proclamation.' Donald Trump brought them together."

Justices to Hear Cases on Mail-In Ballots And Forced Labor of Migrant Detainees

By ABBIE VANSICKLE

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court announced on Monday that it would hear a case brought by a conservative congressman who has challenged an Illinois election law that allows mail-in ballots to be counted up to 14 days after an election.

Representative Mike Bost, a Republican who represents a district in downstate Illinois, along with two federal electors, sued the Illinois State Board of Elections in 2022. They argue that the state's law violates federal statutes establishing an Election Day because it allows absentee ballots to be received and counted after the election.

Republicans have repeatedly challenged state laws that allow ballots sent by mail to be counted after Election Day, an issue that President Trump pressed after his loss in the 2020 election, in which the use of mail balloting expanded because of the coronavirus pandemic.

A federal trial court had dismissed the case, finding that Mr. Bost and the electors lacked standing, meaning that they were not able to show they were directly injured by the state law. A federal appeals court agreed. Mr. Bost, who is represented by the conservative activist group Judicial Watch, asked the justices to weigh in.

The election law dispute is one of four new cases that the justices



President Trump with Howard Lutnick, the secretary of commerce. A coalition of scholars cited harm to the constitutional structure.

The brief was prepared by Michael W. McConnell, a former federal appeals court judge appointed by Mr. Bush who teaches at Stanford Law School, and Joshua A. Claybourn, a lawyer and historian. It said Mr. Trump's court did violence to the constitutional structure.

"The powers to tax, to regulate commerce and to shape the nation's economic course must remain with Congress," the brief said. "They cannot drift silently into the hands of the president through inertia, inattention or creative readings of statutes never meant to grant such authority. That conviction is not partisan. It is constitutional. And it strikes at the heart of this case."

The coalition filed a very similar brief in a second case, too, in the Federal District Court in Washington. On Wednesday, the trade court ruled for the challengers. On Thursday, the district court judge followed suit, citing the supporting brief eight times.

Professor McConnell said that the prominence of the amici curiae — the friends of the court — who signed the brief sent a message.

"Our hope is that the identity of the amici parties will signal the gravity of the situation," he said. "All are concerned about executive usurpation of control over taxation of trade, which the Constitution explicitly vests in Congress."

Professor Koh, who served as a State Department official in the Obama administration, said some issues transcend partisanship.

"Despite our political differences, the amici easily agreed, as lawyers, that the president has exceeded his delegated statutory authorities," he said. "By unilaterally imposing unlimited tariffs on worldwide goods, he has lawlessly usurped Congress's exclusive powers to impose taxes and duties and to regulate foreign commerce."

The brief said it took no position on the wisdom of the tariffs. "Amici do not appear to defend or oppose any particular trade

ONLINE: MORE 'SIDEBAR'

An archive of Adam Liptak's recent articles and columns: [nytimes.com/adamlipitak](https://www.nytimes.com/adamlipitak)

policy," it said. "They file this brief because they believe the Constitution draws bright lines between legislative and executive power — and that those lines are being blurred in ways that threaten democratic accountability itself."

Professor Epstein said he had been honored to sign what he called a magnificent document, one that boiled the dispute down to its essence.

"This case is not close," he



SCOTT OLSON/GETTY IMAGES

enforcement officers can enter a house without a search warrant if an emergency is underway.

The case involves a Montana man, William Trevor Case, who was shot and wounded by police in September 2021. Officers went to Mr. Case's home for a welfare check after a report that he had been making suicide threats. The officers waited outside for about 40 minutes, then went inside to look for him. An officer began to open a closet curtain, saw a "dark object" near Mr. Case's waist and shot him. Police said he was armed with a handgun. Mr. Case was later convicted of assault on a police officer, a felony, based on evidence police seized from the house.

Mr. Case had argued that police improperly entered his home without enough evidence to support a stringent standard of proof that an emergency was underway.

But the Montana Supreme Court rejected that argument, finding that requiring such a high

standard for officers to enter a residence when they believe an emergency is underway is "unwieldy." The court held that police needed to have only some "objective, specific and articulable facts from which an experienced officer would suspect that a citizen is in need of help or is in peril" to enter their home without a search warrant.

Lawyers for Mr. Case had asked the justices to weigh in, arguing that the case offered the opportunity to clarify a previous ruling. In a 2006 case, *Brigham City v. Stuart*, the Supreme Court had held that before officers enter a home without a warrant, they must have "an objectively reasonable basis" for believing someone is "seriously injured" or threatened with injury. The Montana case, they said, would allow the justices to clear up confusion among the lower courts on how much proof is required to justify a warrantless home entry when officers believe they need to deliver emergency

said. "There are cases that are vastly important that are easy."

Other scholars have offered more cautious assessments. Jack Goldsmith, a law professor at Harvard who was a Justice Department official in the Bush administration, recently wrote that the legal issues in the case were "hard and close."

Karoline Leavitt, the White House press secretary, went further. "The president's rationale for imposing these powerful tariffs was legally sound and grounded in common sense," she said at a briefing last week.

An appeals court has temporarily paused the trade court's ruling and will consider whether to extend that pause in the coming days. There is little doubt that the case will reach the Supreme Court, and soon.

When it does, the justices will have to grapple with two doctrinal trines dear to the conservative legal movement, both of which would seem to cut against Mr. Trump's understanding of his powers.

One, the nondelegation doctrine, says that Congress may not transfer unbundled legislative powers to the executive branch. The other, the major questions doctrine, says Congress must authorize in plain and direct language any sweeping executive actions that could transform the economy.

The friend-of-the-court brief said those doctrines, grounded in the separation of powers, required courts to reject Mr. Trump's program.

This case presents the court with a choice — not between competing trade policies, but between rival understandings of constitutional governance," the brief said. "One preserves the balance the framers struck, requiring that major economic decisions receive explicit legislative authorization. The other would allow the executive to unilaterally remake the nation's commercial framework under vague and general statutory language never intended to support such action."

"The court," the brief said, "should choose the former."

A congressman is challenging an Illinois law that allows absentee ballots to be counted up to 14 days after an election.

aide.

The final case the court accepted Monday involves whether a U.S. soldier can sue a government contractor for negligence. William T. Hency, a former U.S. Army specialist, sued Fluor Corporation after he was injured in a 2016 suicide bombing in Afghanistan.

Mr. Hency, who was stationed at Bagram Airfield, was injured in November 2016 by a suicide bomber who struck during a Veterans Day 5K race, according to court filings by his lawyers.

As hundreds of troops gathered for the race, a suicide bomber, Ahmad Nayeib, walked toward the soldiers but was confronted by Mr. Hency and others. The bomber then detonated an explosive vest, killing five people and wounding more than a dozen more. Mr. Hency's lawyers said he saved hundreds of fellow soldiers.

Mr. Nayeib had been employed by a subcontractor of Fluor Corporation, and an Army investigation found that failures by the government contractor to supervise employees were "the primary contributory factor" to the bombing. Mr. Hency sued the company for negligence under South Carolina law, but a federal appeals court held that his claims were barred by "federal interests" under the Federal Tort Claims Act, which immunizes the government from such lawsuits. Mr. Hency then asked for a review by the Supreme Court.

Supreme Court Turns Down Challenge to Maryland's Ban on Semiautomatic Rifles

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court announced on Monday that it would not hear a Second Amendment challenge to a Maryland law banning semiautomatic rifles like the AR-15. As is the court's practice, its brief order gave no reasons.

The move, over the objections of three conservative justices, let the state and the federal government's intermittent engagement with gun rights. It has issued only three significant Second Amendment decisions since recognizing an individual right to own guns in 2008.

The Maryland law was enacted in 2013 in response to the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut the previous year. It banned many semiautomatic rifles and imposed a 10-round limit on gun magazines.

In dissent, Justice Clarence Thomas said the court should have considered the question,

which the justices have repeatedly declined to resolve.

"I would not wait to decide whether the government can ban the most popular rifle in America," he wrote. "That question is of critical importance to tens of millions of law-abiding AR-15 owners throughout the country. We have avoided deciding it for a full decade."

He added that the court's commitment to the Second Amendment was inadequate. "I doubt we would sit idly by if lower courts were to so subvert our precedents involving any other constitutional right," he wrote. "Until we are vigilant in enforcing it, the right to bear arms will remain a second-class right."

Justices Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Neil M. Gorsuch said they too would have heard the case but did not provide reasons.

Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh, who could have supplied the fourth vote needed to add the case to the court's docket, issued a statement saying the question

was significant and could soon warrant review but that he hoped additional opinions from lower courts could assist the justices on the issue. He wrote that the Supreme Court "should and presumably will address the AR-15 issue soon, in the next term or two."

The justices also agreed to require the court to apply its recently minted test for assessing constitutional challenges to gun control measures, one that requires judges to strike down such laws unless they are "consistent with the nation's historical tradition of firearm regulation."

In a 10-to-5 ruling in August, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, in Richmond, Va., said the Maryland law satisfied that history-based test, which was set out in the Supreme Court's 2022 ruling, *New York State Rifle & Pistol Association v. Bruen*.

The law's ban on what critics call assault weapons ban did not violate the Second Amendment because rapid-firing long guns "are military-style weapons de-

signed for sustained combat operations that are ill-suited and disproportionate to the need for self-defense," wrote Judge J. Harvie Wilkinson III, who was appointed by President Ronald Reagan.

"We decline to wield the Constitution to declare that military-

Three conservative justices object to a move on a 2013 law.

style armaments, which have become primary instruments of mass killing and terrorist attacks in the United States, are beyond the reach of our nation's democratic processes," Judge Wilkinson added.

Five dissenting justices — all appointed by Republican presidents — accused the majority of ignoring Bruen and other precedents.

"Rather than considering the amendment's plain text, that majority sidesteps it altogether and concocts a threshold inquiry divorced from the right's historic scope," wrote Judge Julius N. Richardson, who was appointed by President Trump.

"To make matters worse, it then misconstrues the nature of the banned weapons to demean their lawful functions and exaggerate their unlawful uses," he added. "Finally, to top it off, the majority cherry-picks various regulations from the historical record and pigeonholes them into its preferred — yet implausible — reading of our nation's historical tradition of firearms regulation."

Last year, the Supreme Court ruled that the government can disarm people subject to restraining orders for domestic violence, limiting the sweep of its Bruen decision. Only Justice Thomas, the author of the majority opinion in Bruen, dissented from the domestic-violence decision.

The ruling, United States v.

Rahimi, represented a modest retreat from what had been an unbroken series of major rulings favoring gun rights that started in 2008, when the court first recognized an individual constitutional right to keep firearms in the home for self-defense.

In a concurring opinion in the Fourth Circuit decision, Chief Judge Albert Diaz, who was appointed by President Barack Obama, said the Supreme Court's history-based test had created "a labyrinth for lower courts, including our own, with only the one-dimensional history-and-tradition test as a compass."

He added, "Courts, tasked with sifting through the sands of time, are asking for help."

In dissent, Judge Richardson wrote that "the Second Amendment is not a second-class right subject to the whimsical discretion of federal judges." The majority, he wrote, had ignored history in favor of "waxing poetic about the dangers of gun violence and the blood of children."



Near the scene of the attack on Sunday in Boulder, Colo., against marchers supporting Israeli hostages in Gaza. Twelve were wounded.

Man Accused of Hate Crime in Colorado Attack

From Page A1

In an interview with state and federal investigators, Mr. Soliman said he wanted to stop the group from “taking over ‘our land,’ which he explained to be Palestine,” the affidavit states.

The attack, which took place on the Pearl Street Mall, a pedestrian street filled with restaurants and shops that runs through downtown Boulder, came two weeks after two staff members at the Israeli Embassy were fatally shot outside the Capital Jewish Museum in Washington.

Attacks against Jewish people and property have increased sharply in the United States and around the world since the deadly 2023 Hamas-led attack and Israel’s devastating military campaign in Gaza.

In April, a man set fire to the residence of Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania, who is Jewish. The suspect later said the fire was a response to Israeli attacks on Palestinians.

Mr. Soliman told investigators that he was born in Egypt, lived in Kuwait for 17 years and moved to Colorado Springs with his wife and five children in August 2022.

Mr. Soliman, 45, stayed illegally after the visa expired in February 2023, said Tricia McLaughlin, a spokeswoman for the Department of Homeland Security.

“The Colorado Terrorist attack suspect, Mohamed Soliman, is illegally in our country,” Ms. McLaughlin said in a post on social media.

Mr. Soliman had applied for asylum with U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. Ms. McLaughlin said, adding that he had not received a final decision on his

Mark Walker reported from Boulder. Ephrat Livni and Jonathan Swan contributed reporting.



Placing flowers on Monday to honor the victims, at the attack site, a pedestrian downtown street filled with restaurants and shops.

The suspect ignited two Molotov cocktails, the authorities say.

application for protection. Immigrants waiting for their asylum cases to resolve may gain work permits to allow them to work in the country legally while their cases are decided.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said in a statement on Monday that he and “the entire State of Israel” were praying for the full recovery of victims wounded in the Boulder attack, which he said “was aimed against peaceful people who wished to express their solidarity with the hostages” being held by Hamas in Gaza.

The F.B.I. said it had found more than a dozen unlit Molotov cocktails and a weed sprayer “potentially containing a flammable substance” near where Mr. Soliman was arrested.

Mr. Soliman, who lives 90 min-

utes south of Boulder in Colorado Springs, told investigators he had researched on YouTube how to make Molotov cocktails, according to the F.B.I. affidavit.

He told investigators that he had dressed himself like a gardener “in order to get as close as possible” to the demonstrators, according to a Boulder Police Department affidavit, which added that he wore an orange vest and bought flowers from Home Depot.

He told investigators that he had used his daughter graduated from high school to stage the attack.

Mr. Soliman said he had used Molotov cocktails because he had not been able to buy a gun. He had learned to shoot a gun in a concealed carry class but had to change his plan for the attack after he was blocked from purchasing a gun because of his immigration status, he told investigators.

Since a few weeks after the 2023 Hamas attacks, the Run for Their Lives event has taken place every Sunday at 1 p.m. in Boulder. Demonstrators walk; speak the

names of those still held hostage; sometimes sing “Hatikvah,” the Israeli national anthem; and bear witness, according to Lisa Effress, 55, a regular attendee.

Ms. Effress said she did not take part this Sunday but was nearby, having lunch with her daughter until they heard sirens.

She left lunch and ran toward the scene of the attack, where she saw smoke wafting, discarded clothes used to extinguish flames, people dazed and half undressed. Bags and backpacks had been left behind in the panic. One of the victims of the attack was a friend who was a Holocaust survivor, Ms. Effress said.

“I have always taught my daughter: Be proud to be Jewish. Don’t be afraid,” Ms. Effress said. “But in a time like this, it is crazy to think we will ever be walking again. It’s dangerous; it’s not safe for us.”

The Boulder attack highlighted a type of undocumented resident who has been largely absent from the heated political messaging on immigration: those like Mr. Soliman who arrive in the United States legally, on tourist or other temporary visas, and remain after their permission to stay has lapsed.

In the 2023 fiscal year, the government estimated there were about 400,000 such overstays, according to an official report issued by the Department of Homeland Security. That year, about 2,400 Egyptians in the United States had overstayed their visas, or about 4 percent of all arrivals from that country, the report said.

On social media on Monday, President Trump blamed former President Joseph R. Biden Jr. for letting Mr. Soliman into the country, although he came legally on a B2 tourist visa, according to a Department of Homeland Security.

Ex-Assistant to Combs Withstands Questioning On Sex Assault Testimony

By BEN SISARIO and JULIA JACOBS

A former assistant to Sean Combs returned to the stand on Monday in the music mogul’s federal trial, and under aggressive questioning by a lawyer for Mr. Combs she denied that her allegation of sexual assault was untrue.

“I have never lied in this courtroom,” the woman said, “and I never will lie in this courtroom.”

Mr. Combs has been charged with sex trafficking, racketeering conspiracy and transportation to engage in prostitution. He has pleaded not guilty, and his lawyers have strongly denied that any of his sexual arrangements were nonconsensual.

If convicted of all charges, Mr. Combs, 55, could face life in prison.

In her third day on the stand, the woman, who is testifying under the pseudonym Mia, was cross-examined by Brian Siegel, a lawyer for Mr. Combs. He challenged her accusation that Mr. Combs had sexually assaulted her multiple times during the years she worked for him, and asked why she had not disclosed those allegations earlier.

Mia worked for Mr. Combs from 2009 to 2017, as a personal assistant and then in a film division of his company. She testified that during her employment she had been subjected to sleep deprivation and violence, and that she was sexually assaulted by Mr. Combs, including an occasion when she said he entered a bedroom where she was sleeping and penetrated her without her consent.

Mia acknowledged that aside from telling a therapist, she did not disclose her sexual assault allegation until June 2024, months after she began a series of meetings with government prosecutors during their investigation that led to Mr. Combs’s arrest last September. Prosecutors said they met with Mia 28 times over the course of the case.

“I was still deeply ashamed and wanted to die with this,” Mia said.

Mr. Steel also asked Mia whether she made her accusation to join “the #MeToo money grab” — a question Mia did not answer because the judge, Arun Subramanian, sustained an objection from the government.

Mia testified that she was paid a settlement of about \$400,000 from Mr. Combs’s company during a mediation when she left his employment in 2017, and never mentioned a sexual assault then.

She has not filed any civil suits against Mr. Combs. When asked whether she wants money from Mr. Combs based on her allegations, she said no, and chuckled.

The government argues that Mr. Combs was a violent and abusive man who controlled, intimidated and sexually violated women, and that he directed employees to commit arson, bribery, forced labor, obstruction of justice and other crimes on his behalf as part of a “criminal enterprise.”

The government has accused Mr. Combs of subjecting Mia to forced labor — including sexual activity — through violence and

Anusha Bayya contributed reporting.

threats of serious harm. That allegation is part of the government’s charge of racketeering conspiracy.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Steel asked Mia to explain why, given her accusations, she had sent Mr. Combs various warm and affectionate text messages years after she stopped working for him.

“Because I was brainwashed,” she answered.

She said that it took her time to come forward because when she worked for Mr. Combs, “nobody acted like what was happening to me was wrong.” She testified that she had also been dissuaded from speaking publicly by what she described as a threat by Mr. Combs that he would tell his girlfriend, Casandra Ventura, about their sexual encounters, which she said “made me internalize blame and shame.”

Over nearly two full days of cross-examination, Mr. Steel leaned heavily on social media posts and private text messages in which Mia expressed fondness and admiration for Mr. Combs, both during her employment and after it ended. Mr. Steel repeatedly asked how she could say such things about the man she now accuses of violating her.

“The version of Puff that did treat me like the best friend, I did love that dude,” Mia said, using a nickname for Mr. Combs. “The pro-

She sent warm texts but says she was ‘brainwashed.’

tested me from the other versions of himself. And I didn’t understand what happened to me until recently as he was still being praised by everybody in the world. So how would I have known?”

Out of the presence of the jury, during a break on Monday morning, Maureen Coney, a prosecutor, complained strongly about Mr. Steel’s cross-examination over the text messages, calling it “humiliating” and inappropriate. She added that she was concerned that the tone of his questioning could deter other victims from testifying in other cases.

“Mr. Steel has yelled at this witness, Mr. Steel has been sarcastic with this witness,” Ms. Coney told the judge.

Judge Subramanian disagreed. “I don’t see that this witness has been treated in any improper way at this point,” he said. But he cautioned Mr. Steel not to repeat questions over which he has sustained objections.

Mia was the 21st witness in the case, which has entered the fourth week. Most is expected to be an eight-week trial.

For much of her testimony, Mia faced sat in the witness stand looking downward, her hair covering much of her face. During a redirect, Madison Smyser, a prosecutor, asked her why she looked down when discussing her sexual assault.

“Because it’s the worst thing I’ve ever had to talk about in my life,” she said.

Trump Administration Is Set to Open Alaskan Wilderness to Drilling and Mining

By LISA FRIEDMAN

The Trump administration said on Monday that it planned to eliminate federal protections across millions of acres of Alaskan wilderness, a move that would allow drilling and mining in some of the last remaining pristine wilderness in the country.

Interior Secretary Doug Burgum said the Biden administration had exceeded its authority last year when it banned oil and gas drilling in more than half of the 23 million-acre area, known as the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska.

The proposed repeal is part of President Trump’s aggressive agenda to “drill, baby, drill,” which calls for increased oil and gas extraction on public lands and the repeal of virtually all climate and environmental protections.

“We’re restoring the balance and putting our energy future back on track,” Mr. Burgum said in a statement.

The National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska is an ecologically sensitive expanse of land about 600 miles north of Anchorage, bounded by the Chukchi Sea to the west and the Beaufort Sea to the north. It is the largest single area of public land in the United States. It covers crucial habitat for grizzly bears, polar bears, caribou, thousands of migratory birds and other wildlife.

Created in the early 1900s, the reserves were originally envi-

sioned as a fuel supply for the Navy in times of emergency. But in 1976, Congress authorized full commercial development of the federal land and ordered the government to balance oil drilling with conservation and wildlife protection.

Mr. Burgum accused the Biden administration of prioritizing “obstruction over production and undermining our ability to harness domestic resources at a time when American energy independence has never been more critical.”

The announcement came as Mr. Burgum traveled to Alaska, accompanied by Lee Zeldin, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Chris Wright, the secretary of the Energy Department. The three were expected to encourage companies to drill in sensitive areas like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and to support a liquefied natural gas pipeline in the state.

The plan to allow drilling in the petroleum reserve drew praise from the oil industry.

Emissions from the burning of fossil fuels are the main driver of climate change, which is heating the planet and creating dangerous new weather patterns. Alaska is warming at a rate two to three times as fast as the global average, resulting in thawing permafrost and melting sea ice. It is also disrupting the hunting, fishing and food-gathering practices



The 23 million-acre National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska is an ecologically sensitive public land.

of Indigenous communities. Alaska Native groups have been divided over the Trump administration’s plans for the region. “Too often, federal decisions that affect our homelands are

made without the engagement of the North Slope Inupiat, the people these decisions will affect the most,” said Nagruk Harcharek, president of Voice of the Arctic Inupiat, which represents Inupiat

leadership organizations on the North Slope and supports oil and gas projects.

The group supports allowing oil and gas projects in the region, and Mr. Harcharek said the visit by

Mr. Burgum and others “shows the federal government sees our communities and people as partners, not a check-the-box exercise.”

Others said opening up the reserve threatened to destroys habitat for caribou and thousands of migratory birds, and would put communities that depend on subsistence hunting at risk.

“This is very concerning to us,” said Rosemary Ahtungaruk, a former mayor of the predominantly Inupiat city of Nuuk.

Matt Jackson, the Alaska State senior manager at The Wilderness Society, an environmental group, called the repeal of environmental protections an outrage. “This move will accelerate the climate crisis at a time when the ground beneath Alaska communities is literally melting away and subsistence foods are in decline,” Mr. Jackson said.

Environmental groups and the fossil fuel industry have battled for decades over Alaska’s most pristine and remote places, which often happen to lie over significant oil, gas and mineral deposits.

During his first day in office, President Trump signed an executive order opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge — home to migrating caribou, polar bears, musk oxen, millions of birds and other wildlife — to drilling. But a lease sale there held in January flopped, ending without a single bidder.

'The reaction in financial markets shows that we should not take our financial position for granted.'

DOUGLAS W. ELMENDORF, a Harvard economist.

Economists Caution Now Is Not the Time To Expand the Deficit

From Page A1

Mr. Romer and other economists, is that investors will eventually balk at lending the government money, or will demand punishingly high interest rates for doing so. That could set off a downward spiral in which rising interest payments add further to the debt, making investors increasingly reluctant to lend and eventually driving up the cost of government borrowing even higher.

No one knows exactly when that will happen. But economists warn that by increasing the debt during a period of relative economic strength, the government is running the risk that the tipping point will come at the worst possible moment, when the government needs to run large deficits to respond to a war or another crisis.

Already, the federal government spends more each year on interest on the debt than it does on national defense. If the House bill becomes law, federal debt could exceed 125 percent of G.D.P. by 2034, according to independent projections. That would be the highest since the country's founding.

"We don't want to exhaust our credit line before we hit some bad times," said Douglas W. Elmendorf, a Harvard economist and former director of the Congressional Budget Office. "If we borrow too much outside of those periods, then we will hinder our ability to respond to those needs."

That could mean that the economic downturn associated with any forthcoming crisis is steeper than would otherwise be the case and the recovery far shallower, leaving Americans and the global economy on the whole worse off.

"All the things that the government should or wants to do when the economy gets bad or we're hit with a crisis just get harder," said Kathy Jones, chief fixed income strategist at the Schwab Center for Financial Research. "It adds to the debt, and it pushes up the cost of borrowing for everybody, which limits the economy's recovery, and in circles you go."

Losing Faith?

Budget hawks have issued similar warnings for decades, only to see their dire predictions repeatedly proved overblown. The government ran huge deficits in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, but interest rates actually fell as investors poured their money into the perceived safety of U.S. Treasuries. And the government had no difficulty finding buyers for the trillions of dollars in debt that it issued to finance aid during the co-

ronavirus pandemic in 2020 and 2021.

Even now, fiscal experts say there is no doubt that the government has the capacity to meet its obligations.

But the bond market, like all markets, relies on confidence, not just financial reality. If investors lose faith in the government's commitment to meeting its obligations — or even if they just become convinced that other investors are losing faith — they could decide to sell their holdings before others do the same.

"We're talking about psychological tipping points," said Daleep Singh, a former official in the Biden administration who is now chief economist for PGIM, an asset management firm. "No one can be too confident about how close we are to those tipping points when suddenly the momentum just takes on a life of its own."

There are signs that investors' appetite for U.S. government debt could at last be waning. Yields on long-term government debt have risen in recent weeks as investors have expressed mounting concerns about the cost of the Republican tax bill when Mr. Trump has waged trade wars with nearly all the countries with which the United States does business. Typically a haven that investors flock to during times of stress, the U.S. dollar has continued to drop against a basket of its peers even as the stock market has wobbled.

"The reaction in financial markets shows that we should not take our financial position for granted, that the U.S. government and U.S. economy are not impervious to worries about whether we are making the right choices," Mr. Elmendorf said.

It isn't clear exactly how much the heavy U.S. debt load will limit policymakers' options in the next recession. Most economists believe the government will still be able to borrow what it needs to



125%

Projected federal debt-to-G.D.P. ratio by 2034 if House bill becomes law.

\$105 Million Reparations Package to Repair What Tulsa Race Massacre Destroyed

From Page A1

spokeswoman.

Mr. Nichols, who announced the creation of the trust fund at a gathering in Tulsa to commemorate the city's first Tulsa Race Massacre Observation Day, said a plan to restore Greenwood — a neighborhood that was so prosperous before the attack that it inspired the name Black Wall Street — was long overdue.

"One hundred and four years is far too long for us to not address the harm of the massacre," Mr. Nichols said in an interview before the announcement. He added that the effort was really about "what has been taken from a people, and how do we restore that as best we can in 2025, proving we're much different than we were in 1921."

Unlike some similar efforts by cities, states and universities across the country to establish reparations, the plan in Tulsa directly addresses the effect of a specific historical event.

The movement for reparations — addressing slavery and the country's history of racism — gained traction in 2020, when the murder of George Floyd prompted a nationwide conversation about racial injustice. Many of the proposals are still being explored, though large segments of the U.S. population oppose repa-

rations, as the Trump administration purges the federal government of diversity, equity and inclusion programs.

On the state level, Gov. Wes Moore of Maryland, the nation's sole Black governor, recently vetoed legislation that would have created a commission to study reparations. The state of California apologized last year for the discriminatory treatment of Black Americans and approved some reparations initiatives, but stopped short of financial restitution.

Evanston, Ill., became the first

American city to establish a reparations program in 2021, distributing housing grants meant to make up for past discriminatory housing practices. The program is funded by the city's cannabis sales tax and by real estate taxes. Last year, the city was sued by a conservative organization, which argued that the program was unconstitutional because it discriminated against non-Black residents. The case is pending.

In Tulsa, the Greenwood Trust resources will be divided into three general areas: a \$24 million housing fund for homeownership

and housing assistance; a \$60 million cultural preservation fund for building improvements and cleaning up blight; and \$21 million for land acquisition and development, small business grants and scholarships. As part of the program, the city intends to release 45,000 pages of historical documents related to the 1921 massacre, including Greenwood property records.

Mr. Nichols will act as a spokesman for the trust, but fund-raising will be handled by an executive director whose salary will be paid by private funding. The City Council would have to approve any public money or city-owned land used by the trust. Mr. Nichols acknowledged that residents might not support a project that uses public funds.

Mr. Nichols said he has been working on a framework to address the disparities created by the massacre with help from the city's legal department. He reviewed other proposals from local community organizations and a city commission and discussed the general plan with City Council members and descendants of the massacre's victims. One of the points that stayed with him from those talks, he said, was the destruction not just of what Greenwood was, but also what it could have been.

"You would have had the center

of oil wealth here and the center of Black wealth here at the same time," he said, referring to the area. "That would have made us an economic juggernaut and would have probably made the city at least double in size."

Back then, Greenwood was filled with restaurants, theaters, hotels, grocery stores and houses. On May 31 and June 1, 1921, a white mob descended on the dis-

descendants of Greenwood residents and their supporters have demanded justice from the City of Tulsa and other government entities. In 2021, the city apologized for its role in the massacre. The last two known survivors, Lessie Benningfield Randle and Viola Ford Fletcher, sought reparations through the courts. The Oklahoma Supreme Court dismissed their case last June.

Ms. Randle attended Sunday's announcement of the reparations package with LaDonna Penny, 53, a granddaughter. In an interview, Ms. Penny said she was ecstatic about the trust.

"Restoration and repairment," she said. "That's what happened today."

Deborah Hunter, 74, a poet and spoken word artist, was there, too. She is a descendant of four grandparents who were survivors of the massacre. Decades ago, on the 50th anniversary of the massacre, Ms. Hunter said she asked her sole grandmother who was still alive about what happened. Even then, she said, "she still didn't want to talk about it."

Ms. Hunter said she hoped part of the \$105 million would be spent on some of the things that the massacre had stolen from Greenwood. "We are missing jobs and safe streets on this side of town," she said, "and of course, we need funding for the arts."

A private trust for scholarships, housing and development.

The toll was devastating beyond the death and destruction. A federal report issued in January recast the massacre as "a coordinated, military-style attack" by white citizens, not the work of an uncontrolled mob.

The toll was devastating beyond the death and destruction. To many historians, civil rights lawyers and activists, that single event entrenched economic, educational and health disparities in Greenwood and North Tulsa for generations.

Over decades, the survivors,



JULY JOHNSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mayor Monroe Nichols of Tulsa announced the plan on Sunday to commemorate the first Tulsa Race Massacre Observation Day.

Business Interests Pouring Cash Into Super PAC That Supports Cuomo

From Page A1

are longtime Cuomo supporters who share his moderate policy views, or fear what Mr. Mammà's tax-the-rich policies would do. Among them are Barry Diller, the media mogul (\$250,000); Billy Joel, the musician (\$50,000); Bill Ackman, the investor (\$250,000); and Kenneth Langone, the Home Depot founder (\$50,000).

But millions of dollars more have arrived from labor unions, tech companies, real estate developers and landlords who have a direct financial stake in the election's outcome — grand gestures that, while legal, raise pressing ethical questions about the motivations behind their generosity.

The potential conflicts can be seen in the donations from real estate, a multibillion industry that relies on City Hall to approve land use agreements and zoning variances that can make or break a project. Many of the city's largest developers and landlords, or their executives, have donated five- or six-figure sums, including Related Companies, the Durst Organization, Two Trees Management Company, RRR and Vornado, whose Midtown development plan Mr. Cuomo supported as governor.

Many of the donations came after Mr. Cuomo made a rare appearance at the Real Estate Board of New York, where Politico reported that he expressed regret for signing rent reforms as governor that landlords bitterly opposed.

Rich Azzopardi, a spokesman for Mr. Cuomo, was adamant that "no attribution of any amount will have any influence on a government decision of any kind."

Liz Benjamin, a spokeswoman for the super PAC, said the group had made no assurances to donors. "Donors have supported Fix New York because they know that Andrew Cuomo has the right experience and the right plans for New York City," she said.

But New York has a long history of pay-to-play behavior, in which individuals and businesses shower politicians with large campaign contributions in hopes of gaining access and preferential treatment.

The issue is hardly abstract for New Yorkers deciding whether to replace Mayor Eric Adams. The incumbent was indicted last fall



Andrew Cuomo at a campaign event in March run by the carpenters' union, which has given \$100,000 to the Fix the City super PAC.

on federal corruption charges that accused him of providing political favors for campaign donors. The Trump administration later dropped the charges, but only after prosecutors handling the case accused their superiors of striking a corrupt bargain with the mayor. Government watchdog groups and other Democrats in the race have sounded alarms that some donors now at least appear to be seeking favor with Mr. Cuomo, a notorious micromanager whose foul-raising practices drew near constant scrutiny as governor.

"This is about titing to the king and giving the king his share in case you need to call on him for help or protection," said John Kaehny, executive director of Reinvest Albany, a leading watchdog group.

"There's not necessarily a glaring quid pro quo," he added. "It's insurance and access."

The city instituted a campaign

matching funds program decades ago to try to limit the influence of big donors. In exchange for agreeing to strict limits on how much they can raise directly — \$2,100 from most individuals; \$400 from people with city contracts — well-backed candidates like Mr. Cuomo can tap into millions of dollars in public matching funds.

But the rise of super PACs has reinvigorated New York's transactional culture. Since the Supreme Court's 2010 Citizens United decision, the groups are allowed to raise and spend unlimited sums, so long as they operate independently from the campaigns they support.

In Mr. Cuomo's case, though, Fix the City can be hard to distinguish from his official campaign. It is run by Steven M. Cohen, a member of Mr. Cuomo's inner circle for decades, and its messaging closely mirrors that of the official campaign.

A New York City Campaign Finance Board investigation deter-

mined that because the campaign's messaging was so similar to the super PAC's, they were most likely colluding. The board penalized Mr. Cuomo by withholding \$1.3 million — equal to the cost of one of the PAC's commercials — from the amount of public match-

Pressing ethical questions arise about the largess of donors.

ing funds Mr. Cuomo was expecting. The candidate is appealing.

As of last week, Fix the City had collected 38 contributions of \$100,000 or more, including from individuals and companies who contract with the city. The group was expected to report another \$250,000 contribution on Monday

from Mark Gorton, the founder of Robert F. Kennedy Jr.'s presidential super PAC, according to a person familiar with the plans. Mr. Gorton has said "that 9/11 was orchestrated by the U.S. government."

At least 16 donations can be tied to individuals Forbes magazine identified as billionaires (that does not include four donations from Rockefeller).

Some are motivated by Mr. Cuomo's tough-on-crime approach or support for Israel. Mr. Cuomo's executives, even those who clashed with him when he was governor, say Mr. Cuomo is the most business-friendly candidate in the race. Several have also donated to President Trump.

"Folks are looking for somebody with strong leadership and perceived sense of getting things done," said Carlo Sciscusa, president of the New York Building Congress, a trade organization. "He's a known entity to this

world."

But privately, business leaders and political operatives also keep mental lists of which companies, unions and executives want what from the mayor, who oversees a \$115 billion annual budget and can help broker labor agreements.

Fix the City received \$250,000 from Halmar International, a public works company that has had contracts with the city and state, and has a pending proposal to redevelop Penn Station.

The New York City carpenters' union donated \$100,000. A consortium of smaller building trade unions gave \$250,000.

In addition to the donation from Suffolk Construction's chairman, its executive vice president, Nick Dhimitri, serves on Fix the City's board. He did not respond to a request for comment about the company's giving. James L. Nederlander, a Broadway theater owner and producer, contributed \$125,000.

Lyft, the ride-sharing platform that has a stake in how the city regulates for-hire vehicles, chipped in \$15,000.

DoorDash, Fix the City's single largest donor, has a clearer wish list from City Hall. It is lobbying around legislation to allow it to charge restaurants higher fees, as well as bills related to tipping rules and minimum wage requirements.

John Horton, DoorDash's head of public policy for North America, told Politico that it believed Mr. Cuomo would be the best candidate to "prioritize practical, pro-local economy solutions."

The contribution is one of two that have drawn extra scrutiny. The other is a \$100,000 contribution from Fisher Brothers Management Company, a real estate firm that a decade ago became a poster case for the risks of money in politics.

At the time, Mr. Cuomo, then the governor, had set up a high-profile commission to root out corruption in state politics. When that Moreland Commission panel began investigating whether his own real estate donors, including Fisher Brothers, received special tax treatment from the state, Mr. Cuomo disbanded it. Publicly, he credited an agreement by the Legislature to adopt new ethics rules, but the fallout was the biggest scandal of his first term.

New Jersey Republicans Run in Trump's Shadow

By TRACEY TULLY

When Donald J. Trump was in the thick of his first campaign for the White House, Jack Ciattarelli, then a Republican state assemblyman mulling a run for governor of New Jersey, called the soon-to-be commander in chief a "charlatan" who was "out of step with American values."

"Sitting silently and allowing him to embarrass our country is unacceptable," Mr. Ciattarelli said in a 2015 statement. "He is not fit to be president of the United States."

Ten years later, Mr. Ciattarelli, the front-runner in the June 10 Republican primary for governor, has pivoted. He has praised President Trump during the campaign and last month earned the president's coveted endorsement.

Like many other Republican politicians across the country, including the vice president, JD Vance, Mr. Ciattarelli has worked to realign his past criticism of the president as Mr. Trump has grown in popularity.

That effort to appeal to the G.O.P.'s conservative base is seen more as a reflection of the realities of party primaries at a polarized moment in history than as a fundamental realignment of the Republican Party in New Jersey, a left-leaning state with a high percentage of affluent suburban voters.

"It's indicative of where Republicans are, but it's also indicative of where a lot of voters are," said

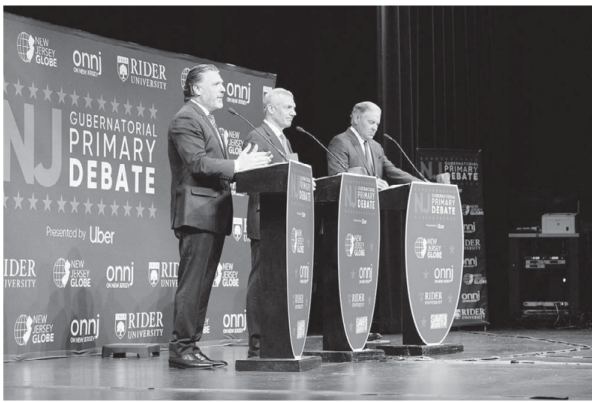
Peter J. McDonough Jr., a retired political strategist and former aide to Christine Todd Whitman, a Republican who was governor of New Jersey in the 1990s. "People are mad. People are dissatisfied — whether they're Bernie Sanders or Trump voters."

Only New Jersey and Virginia hold races for governor the year after a presidential contest. In New Jersey, this stems from a decision made by framers of the 1947 State Constitution, who changed the length of a governor's term to four years, from three, starting with the election in 1949 — an odd-numbered year without any federal races. One of the stated goals was to force candidates to remain focused on state-specific issues.

In 2021, however, outrage over national issues like pandemic-related mandates, book banning and sex education in schools overshadowed local concerns, and Mr. Ciattarelli came within three points of unseating New Jersey's Democratic governor, Philip D. Murphy.

"It showed that New Jersey was no longer immune from the national forces," said Patrick Murray, a pollster and chief executive of Stinson Research.

Now running for the third time, Mr. Ciattarelli openly vied for the president's endorsement, as did a rival further to his right, Bill Spadea, a longtime conservative radio host. A third prominent candidate, State Senator Jon Bramnick, a moderate who in the past



G.O.P. candidates for New Jersey governor, from left: Bill Spadea, Jack Ciattarelli and Jon Bramnick.

has been an outspoken critic of the president, now stresses his willingness to work with Mr. Trump if elected.

In announcing that he was endorsing Mr. Ciattarelli, Mr. Trump alluded to his hope of flipping New Jersey red, arguing on social media that the former assemblyman would "ensure a Big Victory in this Very Important Gubernatorial Election, an Election that is being closely watched by the entire World."

"After getting to know and understand MAGA," Mr. Trump wrote about Mr. Ciattarelli, he "has gone ALL IN, and is now

100% (PLUS!)"

A densely populated state filled with well-educated voters, New Jersey has seasawed between Democratic and Republican governors. Its last two elected Republican governors, Ms. Whitman and Chris Christie, were centrists who have both opposed Mr. Trump. Neither agreed to be interviewed for this article.

Last November, Mr. Trump performed far better in New Jersey than he did in the 2020 election, losing the state by just six points, down from 16 points against Joseph R. Biden Jr. In more than half of the state's counties, he won

more votes than the Democratic candidate, Vice President Kamala Harris, as turnout lagged on the left.

But fealty to Mr. Trump is not without risk in November's general election. Democrats control New Jersey's State House, and Democratic voters still vastly outnumber Republicans, despite the G.O.P.'s recent success in narrowing the gap to about 800,000 voters.

Voters who are not registered with either major political party are New Jersey's second-largest voting bloc. And a public opinion poll taken last month showed that 47 percent of residents supported Mr. Trump — the same percentage as those who oppose him.

Whoever wins the Republican nomination will face off against the winner of a Democratic primary that remains hard-fought, as six prominent candidates compete for an edge in a race that is likely to be won by a small margin and be heavily dependent on voter turnout.

There is no doubt the president's stronger-than-expected showing in New Jersey has influenced each party's primary.

Democrats have focused on pocketbook issues and how they might take on Mr. Trump from the State House. Republicans have stressed ways they align with Mr. Trump on issues such as abortion and immigration.

Pressed on how he might govern differently from Mr. Trump, Mr. Ciattarelli, 63, maintained that he was "in sync with what the president is trying to do."

National issues shape a primary in a race to become governor.

"Everybody has their own leadership style," he said. "The challenges that I face in New Jersey are not necessarily challenges that he faces across the country or across the world."

Mr. Spadea, 56, has said that he was disappointed not to win the endorsement of Mr. Trump, who has been a guest on his radio show and with whom he shares policy positions.

But he said he believed he would still be the choice of the president's most ardent supporters. He received more offers of volunteer labor and small-dollar donations in the days after the president endorsed his primary opponent than at any other point in the race, he said.

"Voters win elections, not endorsements," Mr. Spadea said.

"Look at the chatter online," he added. "Most — I'm talking 80 to 1 — are upset that the president made the wrong choice."

Even before Mr. Trump's endorsement, Mr. Ciattarelli had raised about twice as much money as Mr. Spadea and Mr. Bramnick had each taken in, enabling him to dominate television and streaming advertising, according to AdImpact, which tracks campaign spending. Polls have shown him with a commanding lead for months.

Mr. Bramnick, 72, has argued in debates that his ability to appeal to the state's fiscally conservative but socially moderate core makes him the best choice to take on the Democratic nominee.

"I would say that there are many traditional Republicans, historically traditional, who still believe in the basic concepts of the Republican Party: smaller government, lower taxes, law and order," said Mr. Bramnick, who has trailed in most polls. "I still believe that's the majority of the Republican Party."

Curtis Bashaw, a Republican hotel developer, ran for the U.S. Senate last year. He lost to Andy Kim, a Democrat, by more than nine points.

Mr. Bashaw, who ran as a social moderate, said a common thread among voters he met while campaigning was dissatisfaction with the status quo — regardless of their feelings about the president.

"A moderate Republican who maybe does not like the tone or severity of what's being said or done in Washington still wants a change in New Jersey," he said.

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on May 25 about an unconventional program that claims to reverse Alzheimer's symptoms referred imprecisely to the sales of Dale Bredeben's book "The End of Alzheimer's." The title has sold around 300,000 copies in the United States, not overall.

Because of an editing error, an article on Sunday about a neighborhood on the outskirts of Berlin that was built for the elite guard of the Nazi Reich misidentified the spokesman for Vonovia, a company that serves as a land-

lord for some 300 apartments in the development. He is Matthias Wulff, not Wulauff.

NATIONAL

An article on Sunday about the Energy Department's announcement that it was terminating \$3.7 billion in Biden-era awards to companies trying to demonstrate technologies that might one day help tackle global warming misidentified the location of a Heidelberg Materials cement plant. It is in Indiana, not Louisiana.

BUSINESS

An article on Saturday about a federal grand jury indicting a former New Hampshire businessman, Eric Spofford, on charges that he orchestrated attacks on

the homes of journalists who had investigated claims of sexual misconduct against him misstated how much money Mr. Spofford is accused of paying an associate to vandalize the homes of a reporter and an editor at New Hampshire Public Radio as well as the home of the reporter's parents. It was \$20,000, not \$10,000.

METROPOLITAN

An article on Sunday about the actress and singer Megan Hilty's routine on show days while she's starring in the Broadway musical "Death Becomes Her" misstated Brian Gallagher's age. He is 45, not 52.

OBITUARIES

An obituary on May 23 about Jim

Isray, the owner and chief executive of the Indianapolis Colts of the National Football League, misstated the location of his death. It occurred in a hotel in Beverly Hills, Calif., not Los Angeles.

An obituary on Thursday about

Bruce Logan, a special effects artist and cinematographer, using information from David Zucker, one of the directors of "Airplane!," misstated Mr. Logan's contribution to that film. He worked on miniatures; he did not design the title sequence.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.



ANTONIO DELGADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Delgado to Challenge His Boss in the Primary For New York Governor

By JEFFERY C. MAYS

When Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York chose Antonio Delgado to be her lieutenant governor in 2022, she had nothing but the highest praise for her new No. 2. She said Mr. Delgado, then a rising Black political star who represented a competitive House district, was a “battle-tested campaigner.” She praised his work ethic and said that his ability to “unite communities” would serve her administration’s goals.

Three years later, their partnership has disintegrated. After months of open political warfare with Ms. Hochul, Mr. Delgado said Monday he would challenge her in next year’s Democratic primary. “People are hurting and New York deserves better leadership,” Mr. Delgado said in an interview. “There’s an absence of bold, decisive, transformational leadership.”

That phrase has become the theme for Mr. Delgado’s campaign, the first official challenge to Ms. Hochul, and a message he repeats in a video announcing his candidacy.

He never mentions Ms. Hochul by name in the video, but he suggests that everyday New Yorkers deserve a governor with a vision to fight for them as they face high housing, child care and health care costs.

“Listen, the powerful and well-connected have their champions,” Mr. Delgado says in the announcement. “I’m running for governor to be yours.”

There had been widespread speculation that Mr. Delgado, 48, planned to mount a primary challenge to Ms. Hochul. When he announced in February that he would not seek re-election as her running mate, few were surprised because the pair had been at odds for months.

It is rare for a lieutenant governor to run against a sitting governor, but Mr. Delgado is known for taking an unconventional path, including with his decision to leave Congress, where he represented a House district in the Hudson Valley, to become Ms. Hochul’s No. 2. While polls show that Ms.

Hochul may be vulnerable — 55 percent of registered voters in a Siena College poll last month said they would prefer to elect someone else as governor — Mr. Delgado is still considered a long shot. Ms. Hochul is a fund-raising behemoth who raised a record \$60 million during her last election.

The governor’s poll numbers have also begun to rebound, and Mr. Delgado remains relatively unknown. Almost 60 percent of voters in the Siena College poll had no opinion of him. He would lose to Ms. Hochul 46 percent to 12 percent in a primary contest held now, the survey found.

The response from Mr. Delgado’s colleagues was less than enthusiastic. Representative Pat Ryan, whom Mr. Delgado supported when he ran successfully for his former seat, praised Ms. Hochul and said he was “all in” for her. Representative Tom Suozzi, who challenged Ms. Hochul in the 2022 Democratic primary, said of Mr. Delgado’s announcement: “Based upon my experience this may not be the most well-thought out idea!”

Mr. Delgado said he was undeterred by the polling and believed that by running for governor, he was demonstrating his commitment to the people who elected him.

“I haven’t seen a vision,” Mr. Delgado said of Ms. Hochul. “I haven’t seen a decisive leadership that is clear-eyed.”

His relationship with the governor began to fray last year as Ms. Hochul was serving as a surrogate for then-President Joseph R. Biden Jr. Mr. Delgado called on him in July to drop his re-election bid after a poor debate performance. The governor responded that she disagreed with Mr. Delgado but that he had a right to voice his opinion.

In February, Mr. Delgado publicly veered away from Ms. Hochul again to call for the resignation of Mayor Eric Adams of New York City, who was facing federal corruption charges and accusations that he engaged in a quid pro quo with the Trump administration to have his indictment dismissed.



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, Mr. Delgado at the Michelle Obama Community Democratic Club in Harlem last month. Left, Mr. Delgado with Gov. Kathy Hochul and Mayor Eric Adams of New York City at a rally in 2022.



KIRSTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ment dismissed. Ms. Hochul, facing pressure to remove Mr. Adams from office, issued a sharp rebuke, saying through a spokesman that Mr. Delgado “does not now and has not ever spoken on behalf of this administration.”

The schism reached its low point in late winter, when Ms. Hochul took Mr. Delgado’s office space and most of his staff. She stripped him of his role as chairman of the state’s regional economic development councils, and confiscated his state-issued electronic devices.

Mr. Delgado said in the interview he first realized that he would not be part of Ms. Hochul’s decision-making process months after he became lieutenant governor, when she nominated Justice Hector D. LaSalle as the first Latino to lead New York’s highest court.

Left-leaning state Democratic leaders worried that Justice LaSalle was too conservative and they warned Ms. Hochul that his

Relations between Hochul and her No. 2 have disintegrated.

nomination likely faced insurmountable opposition. He went on to become the first nominee for chief judge to be rejected by the State Senate.

“The conversation was more or less, here’s who we’re going with,” Mr. Delgado said.

Aides to Ms. Hochul, meanwhile, felt as though Mr. Delgado did not put in the work needed to be a full governing partner, turning

down opportunities to travel statewide and make public appearances.

Representative Ritchie Torres, a Bronx Democrat, has also indicated he might challenge Ms. Hochul in the primary. Potential Republican challengers include Representatives Mike Lawler and Elise Stefanik, both of whom have signaled that they may run.

One potential roadblock to Mr. Delgado’s ascension, even some allies concede, is the way he handled his split from the governor, a rare public display of disloyalty.

“I didn’t agree at first,” Kamal Johnson, the mayor of Hudson, N.Y., said about Mr. Delgado’s breaks with the governor. “But then I thought about it and said, he’s on to something.”

Mr. Johnson said he respected Ms. Hochul’s leadership, but felt the party should focus on candidates who have the potential to

serve in higher office and can connect to a younger and more diverse demographic of voters.

Mr. Delgado, a married father of two, is a former hip-hop artist and Rhodes scholar who graduated from Harvard Law School.

He has crisscrossed the state in the lead-up to his announcement. On a recent Sunday, he traveled to the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn to attend services at Epiphany Church, where much of the congregation lining up for three packed services were of color and in their 20s.

Assemblywoman Stefani Zinerman, who accompanied Mr. Delgado, said voters seemed interested in hearing “what he’s been doing and what he wants to do.”

At the Michelle Obama Community Democratic Club in Harlem, Cordell Cleare, a state senator who founded the club, gave Mr. Delgado an encouraging introduction, though she did not endorse him.

For the next hour, Mr. Delgado answered questions and spoke about his plan to expand public health care, create universal child care, raise the minimum wage and change the way the state finances new housing. He talked about his work in creating New York’s first Office of Service and Civic Engagement to encourage young people to enter public service.

“This state is run by Democrats — there’s no Republicans impeding our progress,” Mr. Delgado said, as the crowd signaled its agreement. “So we need to start holding up the mirror and having a moment of accountability, and ask ourselves, what are we doing?”

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Opinion

The New York Times

U.S. Schools' Reliance on Overseas Students Hurts Americans

David A. Bell

A professor of history at Princeton.

SEVERAL years ago, a colleague teaching at Miami University, a large state school in Ohio, kindly invited me to give a talk there. After picking me up at the airport, he suggested that we have lunch at a Sichuan restaurant near campus. I was skeptical. Sichuan, in small-town Ohio? "Trust me," he said. "It's fantastic." And it was.

The reason a first-class Sichuan cook had set up shop in this unlikely location soon became clear. At the time, the university was enrolling large numbers of Chinese students — more than 1,400 in 2014, for example. In fact, my colleague went on to tell me, significant social tensions had arisen, since the Chinese students were much wealthier than the American ones, to say nothing of the townspeople. As he said this, he pointed to a Chinese student driving past in a Maserati.

The Trump administration's attempt to keep Harvard from enrolling foreign students has drawn new attention to the remarkable internationalization of American higher education over the past two generations. In the 2023-24 school year, no fewer than 1.1 million international students were enrolled in colleges and universities in the United States, or almost four times the number in the 1979-80 school year. (Total enrollments at universities rose by a little more than 50 percent over the same period.)

Like many large social changes, this one happened without much conscious planning or debate. Foreign students kept applying in ever greater numbers, and universities happily admitted them, since non-Americans receive merit- and need-based financial assistance at much lower rates than Americans do. It has taken Donald Trump's crude and vengeful swipe at Harvard to draw much attention to the subject.

Now it seems that a serious debate may finally start. Has the internationalization of the American student body been a good development? Should it continue?

To be sure, no one should take the Trump administration's position on the issue seriously. In announcing the suspension of Harvard's participation in the Student Exchange and Visitor Program (which a judge quickly blocked with a temporary restraining order), Kristi Noem, the homeland security secretary, said, "It is a privilege, not a right, for universities to enroll foreign students and benefit from their higher tuition payments to help pad their multibillion-dollar endowments."

This is the Trumpian viewpoint in a nutshell: The enrollment of foreign students is basically an elite scam. And the Trumpian solution, at least in Harvard's case, is to shut things down as brutally as possible, regard-

less of the consequences for the students who cannot complete their degrees, the labs that need these students to conduct research and the university that is losing the tuition income.

But the fact that the Trump administration is handling the issue crudely doesn't mean it's not a real issue. Strikingly, the progressive historian Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins and the conservative law professor Adrian Vermeule both suggested on X after Mr. Trump's move against Harvard that perhaps international enrollments should not continue at the same level.

By some measures, the opening of American higher education to international students is an obvious, unqualified good. By

others, it is much more problematic.

If we think of universities principally as generators of knowledge, expanding international enrollments clearly makes sense. By increasing the pool of applicants, it raises the quality of student bodies, thereby improving the level of intellectual exchange and facilitating better research and more significant discoveries.

If we think of universities as engines of economic growth, taking as many foreign students as possible is again a good idea. These students bring billions of dollars a year to American shores. Since many foreign students end up immigrating to the United States after graduation and earn salaries much higher than the national aver-

Enrolling more foreigners limits opportunities for domestic applicants.

age, they contribute to the economy for decades. In their high-level jobs, they also help boost American productivity.

And if we think of universities as instruments of American soft power and international understanding, the benefits are especially evident. By coming here, foreign students create ties between the United States and their home countries, develop friendships with Americans and gain an understanding of American culture and society.

But if we think of universities as engines of social mobility and promoters of national unity, the story looks different. Many of the most elite American universities have not raised their overall enrollments significantly since the 1970s, even as the U.S. population has risen by 50 percent, making admissions far more competitive. The more slots that go to foreigners, the more challenging the process for homegrown applicants.

As in the case of the Chinese students in Ohio, foreign students tend to come from considerable wealth and privilege; this is what allows them to pay the full U.S. tuitions. They have often graduated from elite schools that prepare them for the grueling American application process and, when necessary, teach them fluent English. So these students make U.S. universities look even more elite and possibly out of touch, at a moment when populist resentment of these institutions has facilitated the Trump administration's destructive assault on the scientific research they conduct.

Furthermore, while foreign students bring one sort of diversity to U.S. universities, it may not be as great as the diversity provided by Americans of different social backgrounds. A graduate of an elite private school in Greece or India may well have more in common with a graduate of Exeter or Horace Mann than with a working-class American from rural Alabama. Do we need to turn university economics departments into mini-Davoses in which future officials of the International Monetary Fund from different countries reinforce one another's opinions about global trade?

Any debate about international enrollments might soon become, well, academic. If the Trump administration maintains its current border and visa policies and continues its attempts to detain and deport foreign students who express controversial opinions, foreign enrollments could shrink drastically of their own accord.

But as we look to the post-Trump future, it will be important for U.S. universities to recognize the genuine tensions and trade-offs of international enrollments and to balance their increase with more outreach to a larger range of domestic applicants — even if it comes at the cost of culinary diversity in the heartland.



ANTONY HUCHETTE

Save Us, Senators, From a Very Expensive Mistake

Robinson Meyer

The founding editor of Heatmap, a media company focused on clean energy and climate change, and a contributing Opinion writer.

EVERY so often, Americans rely on the Senate to save us from the moral mill considered urges of the House of Representatives. That time has come again. House Republicans have sent an abysmal reconciliation bill to the Senate that would wreak particular havoc on the country's energy policy and undermine America's industrial strength. But the Senate can fix it.

The bill would gut the clean-energy tax credits established in the Inflation Reduction Act to fund tax cuts that would largely benefit high-earning households. The energy tax credits, which were passed under President Joe Biden in 2022, were meant to increase the country's electricity supply, reinvigorate its battery and electric vehicle supply chains and cut its carbon pollution. They have helped drive a clean-energy manufacturing boom across the country.

I think Republicans are making a mistake by trying to repeal much of the Inflation Reduction Act, though I understand why they've been frustrated with Democrats' sometimes contradictory energy policy. Too often, state and local progressives have called for climate action, but then fought off, shut down or lamented the energy sources — especially hydroelectricity and nuclear power — that until recently generated the bulk of America's clean electricity.

But Republicans are now the ones pursuing a nonsensical energy strategy. The Inflation Reduction Act improved on decades of failed policy by going technology-neutral — its tax credits support any new power plant that doesn't generate greenhouse gas emissions. That means technologies that Republicans like, including nuclear fission, geothermal power and even nuclear fusion, could benefit.

By unwinding these tax credits in such a ramshackle and disorganized way, Republicans would undermine many of their own goals. Senate Republicans can still salvage a sensible energy policy from the House's mad dash.

First, they should preserve tax credits that support innovation and recognize the fact that the United States is currently seeding the next generation of world-leading energy technologies.

Take the new class of nuclear start-ups that are finally ready to deploy their first power plants. Or the entrepreneurs who have figured out how to use fracking equip-

Republicans can still salvage a sensible energy policy from the House's mad dash.

ment to deliver cheap, zero-carbon electricity by drilling new geothermal wells. Fervo Energy, one of these geothermal start-ups, has shown that its drilling times are falling, suggesting that its technology can rapidly take off in the same way that fracking, solar and batteries have. There's even been recent encouraging news on the nuclear fusion front.

These and other clean-energy developments are the reason there's the potential for a boom in U.S. electricity. For the first time in decades, American electricity demand is soaring, driven by electric vehicles, data centers and manufacturing.

Without a burst of new supply on the market, this demand will drive up power prices.

their early projects to completion. Even if the Senate adopts the House's provision to allow nuclear plants to use the tax credits until 2028, it will still not be enough — the procedural hurdles will prevent banks from financing nuclear plants. The Senate should give nuclear and geothermal developers the same long-term certainty it once extended to solar and wind developers.

Second, Republican senators should pay particular attention to the risk of a coming electricity and energy price shock. Today, natural gas provides about a third of America's primary energy, and it is the country's No. 1 source of electricity generation. But the country's gas supply is about to come under more pressure. From 2024 to 2028, 10

artificial intelligence industry. This scenario would worsen the new renewable-energy or zero-carbon power plants — which had been planned under the assumption the tax credits would stay on the books — get canceled.

Last, Republican senators should be careful not to pull the rug out from under electric vehicle factories that have set up shop in their states. Over the past few months, Republicans have seemed dead set on ditching any policies that help support demand for E.V.s — whether they do so through subsidies, such as the \$7,500 tax credit for personal E.V. buyers, or through regulations such as California's 2035 E.V. rules. At the same time, they have mostly left the supply-side subsidies for E.V. and battery manufacturing in place, although they have still made them harder to get.

But Princeton University's energy modeling shows that yanking away these supports would ultimately kill the economic case for the hundreds of new E.V. and battery factories under construction nationwide. That's because the demand- and supply-side incentives are designed to work together. By killing the personal E.V. tax credit, lawmakers would also kill demand for the creation of a domestic critical mineral supply chain — even though reshoring mineral production is a Trump administration goal.

So far, batteries have been this century's essential energy technology. They will be core to the most important industries of the future in information technology, transportation and warfare. Just look at how battery-powered drones have transformed the Ukraine war. American policymakers would be foolish to give up on the industry for essentially ideological reasons. There is plenty of room to improve America's battery policy — we should ensure that next-generation batteries are developed and made here — but simply surrendering current technology is misguided.

President Trump understands the importance of cheap electricity. During his Inaugural Address, he bragged that the United States can flex its manufacturing muscles because energy is so much cheaper here than elsewhere. Now his policies risk making energy much more expensive while surrendering any leadership in energy technology whatsoever. It is time for senators to act responsibly — to set a long-term strategy for the country's energy future. Senate Republicans understand that energy abundance is the essential input for the economy, national security and America's well-being. Now they must act — and save us from the idiocy that would otherwise result.



ILLUSTRATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. SOURCE PHOTOGRAPHS BY C.J. BURTON AND GEMINACOM, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Low electricity costs have long been a strength of American economic competitiveness that we are now at risk of losing.

As with any new technology, these next-generation American nuclear and geothermal power plants will be hard to plan and hard to finance. That's why the government should give them a leg up — much as it once helped the solar, wind and fracking industries — with tax incentives that support early projects. But the G.O.P. reconciliation bill would make this impossible.

If the Senate follows the House and cuts off the clean-electricity tax credits, it will hurt these next-generation technologies most. Nuclear and geothermal developers in the first stages of building cannot rush

new liquefied natural gas terminals are expected to open across North America, which would roughly double the United States' export capacity of the fuel. This would, in turn, increase demand for domestic natural gas supplies.

It's possible that energy companies would respond to this higher demand by drilling for more gas. But if natural gas supply doesn't rise as fast as demand, then U.S. natural gas prices will rise to something closer to their global average. Natural gas is three to five times more expensive in Europe than in the United States, so there's a real chance that American consumers will get soaked.

A monster price shock could also hurt American manufacturers and hold back the

Guy Klucevsek, Who Took Accordion to ‘Another Dimension,’ Dies at 78

By RICHARD SANDIMIR

Guy Klucevsek, a masterly accordion player who developed an eclectic body of work for his beloved, it sometimes mocked, instrument that expanded its repertoire well beyond polkas and other traditional fare, died on May 22 at his home on Staten Island. He was 78.

His wife and only immediate survivor, Jan (Gibson) Klucevsek, said the cause was pancreatic neuroendocrine cancer.

Praise for Mr. Klucevsek (pronounced kloo-SEV-ek) typically noted that he had elevated the profile of the accordion beyond the realms of beer halls and “The Lawrence Welk Show.”

Writing in *The Village Voice* in 2015 about a series of performances by Mr. Klucevsek in the

A multigenre virtuoso whose work resonated well beyond beer halls.

East Village, Richard Gehl noted that, “having mastered the instrument in virtually all of its classical, modern, jazz and international manifestations,” Mr. Klucevsek “has extended it into another dimension altogether.”

He recorded more than 20 albums, composed dozens of pieces and commissioned others, in multiple genres. He accompanied the performance artist Laurie Anderson on her 1994 album, “Bright Red,” and collaborated with the dancer Maureen Fleming on “B. Madonna,” a 2013 multimedia piece based on the myth of Persephone.

In 1993, he premiered two compositions for Dance Theater Workshop in Manhattan: “The Palatine Light,” based on a maritime theme, and “Fallen Shadows,” about aging opera singers, which included an accordion solo that Alex Ross described in *The New York Times* as a “spellbinding stretch of slow-tango melancholy.”

Mr. Klucevsek is probably best known for a project called “Polka From the Fringe,” a collection of more than two-dozen polkas that he commissioned a diverse group of composers to write in the mid-1980s in various styles, with titles like “Polka Dots and Laser Beams” (by Guy De Bievre), “Diet Polka” (Daniel Goode) and “From Here to Paternity Polka” (Steve Elson).

“When some of them asked me what a polka is, I volunteered nothing beyond its meter and major key,” Mr. Klucevsek told *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1989, three years after making a splash when he performed the polkas at the New Music America festival there.

The project helped him make peace with the polkas that he knew from a childhood spent among fellow Slovenian Americans in western Pennsylvania.

“I had grown up with polkas and then disowned them,” he told *The Inquirer*. “When I was playing with John Zorn — the saxophonist, composer and longtime fixture of the downtown scene — ‘in New York, he loved polkas and made me play what I was ashamed of. He loved the garbage as much as the diamonds, but he made me realize that it’s OK to mind your own past.’”

He added: “The funny thing is that these polkas have gotten me concerts I never would have had otherwise.”

“Polka From the Fringe,” which he recorded with his Ain’t Nothin’ but a Polka Band, was originally released in the early 1990s and reissued in 2012 on the Starland label.

Guy Allen Klucevsek was born on Feb. 26, 1947, in Manhattan, and spent part of his early childhood in Saddle Brook, N.J. At age 5, he watched the accordion master Dick Contino perform on television and pestered his father, Godfred, a window cleaner, to buy him an accordion. When he was 6, his father got him a child-size accordion.

At age 9, after his parents divorced — his mother, Alyse (Hamilton) Klucevsek, had abandoned



the family — Guy moved in with an aunt and uncle in Springdale, Pa., near Pittsburgh, who found an elite accordion teacher, Walter Grabowski. Mr. Grabowski trained Guy from 1955 to 1965, in classical music, polkas and waltzes. He also introduced him to composers of music for the accordion that “instantly felt and sounded natural on my instrument,” Mr. Klucevsek told the Belgian radio station Radio Planik in

2021.

In high school, Mr. Klucevsek performed in a band called the Fascinations, which covered pop tunes — he favored instrumentals like “Walk Don’t Run” — and played waltzes and polkas.

Mr. Klucevsek graduated from Indiana University of Pennsylvania in 1969 with a bachelor’s degree in music theory and composition; two years later, he earned his master’s degree in the same sub-

Guy Klucevsek, above in 2000, became interested in the accordion early, left. He recorded more than 20 albums but is probably best known for “Polka From the Fringe,” top right, a collection of 29 polkas that he and a group of composers wrote in various styles.

jects from the University of Pittsburgh. From 1972 to 1975 he taught at the Acme Accordion School, in Westmont, N.J., where the director introduced him to avant-garde music for the instrument.

In 1978, he joined the Relache Ensemble, a chamber group dedicated to new music.

“He played and wrote for us — and had already begun his solo career — and he was fantastic,” Joseph Franklin, a founder and former artistic and executive director of the ensemble, said in an interview. “His legacy will say that he wasn’t just a great accordionist, but he was a great musician.”

Mr. Klucevsek was not replaced as Relache’s accordionist after he left in 1990.

When Mr. Klucevsek appeared on “Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood” in 1988, he played part of one of his compositions, “Scenes From a Mirage,” and answered Fred Rogers’s questions about whether he expressed sadness, anger and happiness on his instrument.

“Sometimes,” he said, “you can’t



tell somebody how you feel, but when you’re alone, you can express it through your instrument.”

In 1996, Mr. Klucevsek formed Accordion Tribe with four European accordionists: Bratko Bičič of Slovenia, Lars Holmler of Sweden, Maria Kalaniemi of Finland and Otto Lecher of Austria. The group released three albums and was the subject of a documentary, “Accordion Tribe: Music Travels” (2004), before it disbanded in 2010.

His credits also include contributions to John Williams’s scores for the Steven Spielberg films “The Terminal” (2004), “Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull” (2008) and “The Adventures of Tintin” (2011). Among his other albums are “Who Stole the Polka?” (1991), “Free Range Accordion” (2000) and “The Well-Tempered Accordion” (2005).

With his health failing in 2018, Mr. Klucevsek and the Diderot String Quartet accompanied the soprano Renée Fleming when she sang “Danny Boy” at the memorial service of Senator John S. McCain at the Washington National Cathedral in 2018.

“He was musically prepared for it, but carrying the instrument was a problem,” Ms. Klucevsek said in an interview.

Four years later, he composed music for “Little Amal Walks,” a performance piece in which a 12-foot puppet, representing a Syrian refugee girl, appeared on Staten Island.

As puppeteers moved Little Amal around the Snug Harbor Cultural Center & Botanical Garden, Mr. Klucevsek followed along, playing his accordion from the back of a golf cart, as the three other musicians in their quartet walked.

“It wasn’t that difficult for him because it was only a few tunes,” Mr. Klucevsek said. “But he really pushed himself in the recording sessions” — for which he added more music to complete a CD, “Little Big Top,” which was recorded in his living room because he could not travel. He further excused himself for a concert last November at the Brooklyn performance space in Brooklyn to promote the CD.

“He performed well,” Ms. Klucevsek said. “You wouldn’t know he was sick.”

<p>Deaths</p> <p>Goodwin, Myrtle Klein, Shirley Leichter, Hope</p>	<p>Deaths</p> <p>Moses, Julian Weitz, Margaret</p>	<p>Deaths</p> <p>Zirinsky, Olga Stevenson, John</p>	<p>Deaths</p> <p>Zirinsky, Olga Stevenson, John</p>	<p>Deaths</p> <p>Zirinsky, Olga Stevenson, John</p>	<p>Deaths</p> <p>Zirinsky, Olga Stevenson, John</p>	<p>Deaths</p> <p>Zirinsky, Olga Stevenson, John</p>
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Her work exemplified her lifelong commitment to care, both in practice and education. She was one of the founders and first editors of IMAGINE, known today as <i>The Journal of Nursing</i>. Dr. Goodwin believed deeply in nursing as a human science. Compassion, respect for human beings, justice, freedom, and service were central to her life. She loved birds and was a devoted reader and writer. On September 11, 2001, she wrote, "To see the smoke still rising from the hole in a skyline we all loved evokes a stillness in your</p>	<p>GOODWIN—Myrtle Beatrice. helped establish and develop the first nursing and midwifery education program at the Catholic University in Chile, South America. 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3 LITIGATION
A corporate giant behind name-brand snacks contends that Aldi is mimicking its packaging to dupe customers.



5 TRADE
President Trump is showing no sign of letting up on tariffs, even as courts question their legitimacy.



9 SPORTS
With careful play fitting for a U.S. Women's Open, Maja Stark captured her first career L.P.G.A. major title.

TECH | ECONOMY | MEDIA | FINANCE

Business

The New York Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 2025 B1
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Underneath a New Way to Search, A Web of Wins and Imperfections

Brian X. Chen
TECH FIX

Last month, I asked Google to help me plan my daughter's birthday party by finding a park in Oakland, Calif., with picnic tables. The site generated a list of parks nearby, so I went to scout two of them out — only to find there were, in fact, no tables.

"I was just there," I typed to Google. "I didn't see wooden tables."

Google acknowledged the mistake and produced another list, which again in-

cluded one of the parks with no tables.

I repeated this experiment by asking Google to find an affordable carwash nearby. Google listed a service for \$25, but when I arrived, a carwash cost \$65.

I also asked Google to find a grocery store where I could buy an exotic pepper paste. Its list included a nearby Whole Foods, which didn't carry the item.

I wasn't doing traditional web searches on Google.com. I was testing the company's new AI Mode, a tool that is similar to chatbots like ChatGPT and Google's Gemini, where users can type in questions to get answers. AI Mode, which is rolling out worldwide in the coming

weeks, will soon appear as a tab next to your Google.com search results.

The arrival of AI Mode underscores how new technology is redefining what it means to search for something online. For decades, a web search involved looking up keywords, like "most reliable car brands," to show a list of relevant websites.

Now, with generative A.I., the technology that powers chatbots by using complex language models to guess what words belong together, you can ask more specific questions or make complicated requests. That could include directing it to create a chart comparing the five most

reliable 2025 sedans.

Google, which has already been showing A.I.-generated summaries on its search pages for the last year, said AI Mode was a new frontier for search that would complement — but not yet replace — its traditional counterpart.

"We're really trying for AI Mode to be best at a new class of questions that are harder, more specific, and really the best for when you're going back and forth trying to get something done," Robby Stein, a Google executive who oversees the search product team, said in an interview.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

China's Trade War Soft Spot: Risk of Huge Job Loss

By Daisuke Wakabayashi, Meaghan Tobin and Amy Chang Chien

President Trump taunted China in his first term, claiming his tariffs had led to the loss of five million jobs there. In a 2019 tweet, he said his trade policies had put China "back on its heels."

Economists sharply disputed how much pain Mr. Trump's tariffs caused, but the message underscored the centrality of jobs to China's export-reliant economy.

Four months into Mr. Trump's second term, the United States and China are again negotiating over tariffs, and the Chinese labor market, especially factory jobs, is front and center. This time, China's economy is struggling, leaving its workers more vulnerable. A persistent property slowdown that got worse during the Covid-19 pandemic has wiped out jobs and made people feel poorer. New university graduates are pouring into the labor pool when the unemployment rate among young workers is in the double digits.

"The situation is clearly much worse," said Alicia Garcia-Herera.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5



Job postings in Guangzhou, China. Many garment factories said high tariffs forced them to hire fewer workers.

'Lilo & Stitch' Comes Back With a Bang

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — Call it Stitch's vindication.

For 23 years, the rowdy blue agent of chaos lived as a second-class citizen at Disney. The animated "Lilo & Stitch," released in 2002, was made in near secret, partly because the character and art style didn't fit the Disney mold. One poster for the movie depicted classic Disney characters like Pinocchio, Jasmine, Belle recoiling from Stitch in horror.

Ticket sales were so-so. Stitch got a couple of direct-to-video sequels and a TV cartoon in the 2000s. A modest Disney World ride opened in 2004 and closed in 2018, leaving the snaggleteeth character to scamp along as a consumer products property.

And now? Almost overnight, Stitch has become one of the biggest movie windfalls in years, not

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Musk Pivots To Project A New Focus

By Ryan Mac, Kate Conger and Rebecca F. Elliott

Elon Musk recently swapped his Dark MAGA hat and government "Tech Support" garb for his old "Occupy Mars" T-shirt, a reference to his rocket company SpaceX's mission to colonize the red planet.

He embarked on a media blitz, granting interviews to news outlets that he had previously avoided and saying he was focused on SpaceX and discussing his electric automaker Tesla.

And on social media, he posted that he was again spending "24/7 at work" and sleeping in his companies' factories and server rooms.

As Mr. Musk steps away from Washington and his Department of Government Efficiency, President Trump's "first buddy" is shifting back to his role as the business

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

The Digest

FINANCE

Digital Banking Start-Up Aims for \$11 Billion I.P.O.

Chime Financial, a digital banking start-up, said on Monday that it was targeting a valuation of up to \$11.2 billion on a fully diluted basis in its long-awaited New York initial public offering, underscoring the growing momentum in the new listings market.

San Francisco-based Chime and some of its existing shareholders are seeking to raise up to \$832 million by offering 32 million

shares priced between \$24 and \$26 apiece.

Chime is offering 25.9 million shares in the offering, while certain shareholders, including venture capital firm Cathay Innovation, are putting up 6.1 million shares. The company, founded in 2012, offers banking products such as checking and high-yield savings accounts through its app.

The American I.P.O. market has sprung back to its feet after a disappointing April as equities rebounded amid easing volatility, after tariff-driven chaos shut the window for weeks. *REUTERS*

FOOD

Campbell's Sales Benefit As Consumers Eat In

Campbell's beat third-quarter sales and profit estimates on Monday, helped by strong demand for canned food and soups as consumers choose to eat at home amid an uncertain economy.

Fears of a potential recession and price increases triggered by hefty tariffs have prompted consumers to opt for more affordable products and avoid eating out. "Consumers continue to cook at home and focus their spending on products that help them stretch their food budgets," Campbell's C.E.O., Mick Beehuizen, said.

The company maintained its fiscal 2025 net sales growth forecast of 6 percent to 8 percent, ex-



PETER MORGAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

cluding the impact of tariffs. It projected annual adjusted profit per share to be at the lower end of its prior range of \$2.95 to \$3.05, owing to weak snacks demand.

The company said it was working with suppliers on sourcing to lower product costs to minimize the tariff impact. *REUTERS*

HEALTH CARE

UnitedHealth's New Chief Pledges New Approach

UnitedHealth Group's new C.E.O., Steve Hemsley, vowed on Monday to earn back shareholder trust after an earnings shortfall, saying the company was examining its approaches to medical cost trends and how it forecasts future performance.

Mr. Hemsley replaced Andrew Witty as C.E.O. in May, following the company's first earnings miss since 2008. UnitedHealth sus-

pected its earnings outlook as it weighed higher-than-expected costs in its Medicare Advantage unit for adults 65 and older and people with disabilities.

"We are well aware we have not fulfilled your expectations or our own. We apologize for that performance, and we're humbly determined to earn back your trust and your confidence," Mr. Hemsley said.

Hemsley said the company will factor in higher cost of care into its private insurance plans and next year's Medicare Advantage plans. *REUTERS*



S&P 500 INDEX

+0.4%
5,935.94



DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS

+0.1%
42,305.48



NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX

+0.7%
19,242.61



10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD

4.45%
+0.053 points



CRUDE OIL (U.S.)

\$62.52
+\$1.73



GOLD (N.Y.)

\$3,397.20
+\$81.80

Stocks & Bonds

Wall Street Climbs Back Up as Oil Prices Take a Leap

By The Associated Press

U.S. stock indexes drifted closer to their records on Monday, coming off May, which was Wall Street's best month since 2023.

The S&P 500 rose 0.4 percent after erasing an early loss from the morning. The Dow Jones industrial average added 35 points, or 0.1 percent, and the Nasdaq composite climbed 0.7 percent.

Indexes had been down close to 1 percent in the morning following some discouraging updates on manufacturing. President Trump has been warning that businesses and households could feel some pain as he tries to use tariffs to bring more manufacturing jobs back to the United States, and their on-and-off rollout has created lots of uncertainty.

But stocks rallied back as the day progressed, and gains for a few influential stocks helped lift the S&P 500 even though more stocks within it fell than rose. Nvidia climbed 1.7 percent, and Meta Platforms rose 3.6 percent.

Some of Monday's strongest action was in the oil market, where the price of crude spurred more than 3 percent. The countries in the OPEC+ alliance decided to increase their production again, a move that often pushes prices down because it puts more on the market, but analysts said investors were widely expecting it.

The past weekend's attacks by Ukraine in Russia, meanwhile, helped to raise uncertainty about the flow of oil and gas globally.

Monday's market moves also came after more rhetoric crossed between the world's two largest economies, just a few weeks after the United States and China had agreed to pause many of their tariffs that had threatened to drag the economy into a recession.

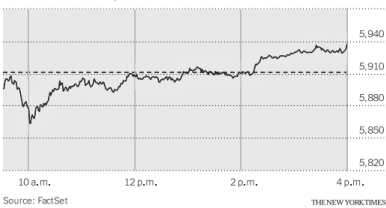
China blasted the United States for moves that it said hurt China's interests, including issuing A.I. chip export control guidelines, stopping the sale of chip design software to China and planning to revoke Chinese student visas.

Hopes for lower tariffs because of potential trade deals between

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Monday

-- Previous Close: 5,911.69



Mr. Trump and other countries were the main reasons for Wall Street's big rally last month, which brought the S&P 500 back within 3.8 percent of its all-time high. The index had dropped roughly 20 percent below the mark in April.

But Mr. Trump on Friday told Pennsylvania steelworkers he's doubling the tariff on steel and aluminum imports to 50 percent to protect their industry, a dramatic increase that could further push up prices. That helped stocks of U.S. steelmakers climb. Nucor jumped 10.1 percent, and Steel Dynamics rallied 10.3 percent.

On the losing side of Wall Street were automakers and other heavy users of steel and aluminum. Ford fell 3.9 percent, and General Motors reversed by 3.9 percent.

Lyra Therapeutics soared nearly 311 percent for one of the market's biggest gains after reporting positive late-stage trial results of an implant to treat chronic sinus inflammation in some patients.

In the bond market, Treasury yields rose as worries continue about how much debt the U.S. government will pile on due to plans to cut taxes and increase the deficit.

The yield on the 10-year Treas-

ury climbed to 4.45 percent from 4.41 percent late Friday and from just 4.01 percent roughly two months ago. That's a notable move for the bond market.

Besides making it more expensive for U.S. households and businesses to borrow money, such increases in Treasury yields can deter investors from paying high prices for stocks and other investments.

Yields had dipped briefly in the morning, before rallying back, following the updates on manufacturing, which suggested that effects of Mr. Trump's tariffs are taking root in the economy.

"The impact of ever-changing trade policies of the current administration has wreaked havoc on suppliers' ability to react and remain profitable," one manufacturer in the transportation equipment industry said in the Institute for Supply Management's survey, which came in weaker than economists expected.

NEWSLETTER: DEALBOOK

DealBook helps you make sense of the day's most important business and policy headlines. Sign up for the newsletter at nytimes.com/dealbook

What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

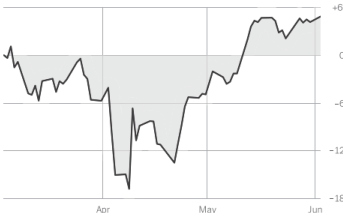
S&P 500 5,935.94 ↑ +0.4%

3 month performance: +1.5%



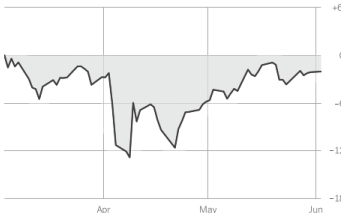
Nasdaq Composite Index 19,242.61 ↑ +0.7%

3 month performance: +4.9%



Dow Jones Industrials 42,305.48 ↑ +0.1%

3 month performance: -2.1%



POWERED BY
FACTSET

Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Steel Dynamics (STLD)	\$135.71	+10.3%
2. Nucor (NUE)	\$120.40	+10.1%
3. Newmont (NEM)	\$55.58	+5.4
4. Freeport-McMoran (FCX)	\$40.15	+4.3
5. VISTRA (VST)	\$167.47	+4.3
6. Micron Technology (MU)	\$98.18	+3.9
7. Anista Networks (ANET)	\$80.78	+3.6
8. Meta Platforms A (META)	\$670.90	+3.6
9. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	\$114.63	+3.5
10. Microchip Technology (MCHP)	\$60.00	+3.4

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. First Solar (FSLR)	\$149.65	-5.3%
2. Leidos (LDO)	\$141.65	-4.6
3. Omnicom Group (OMC)	\$70.49	-4.0
4. General Motors (GM)	\$47.69	-3.9
5. Ford Motor (F)	\$9.08	-3.9
6. Interpublic Group of Comp (IPG)	\$22.87	-3.2
7. Baxter International (BAX)	\$29.55	-3.1
8. CDW Corp. (CDW)	\$174.76	-3.1
9. Wynn Resorts (WYNN)	\$87.80	-3.0
10. Caesars Entertainment (CZR)	\$26.10	-2.9

Most active

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. NVIDIA (NVDA)	\$137.38	+1.7%	194
2. Ford Motor (F)	\$9.08	-3.9	169
3. Palantir Technologies (PLTR)	\$132.04	+0.2	92
4. Tesla (TSLA)	\$342.69	-1.1	81
5. Intel (INTC)	\$19.74	+1.0	68
6. Warner Bros. Discovery 'A' (WBD)	\$10.00	+0.3	46
7. Alphabet A (GOOGL)	\$169.03	-1.6	37
8. Apple (AAPL)	\$201.70	+0.4	35
9. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	\$114.63	+3.5	34
10. Amcor (AMCOR)	\$9.03	-0.9	33

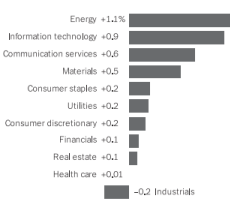
Long- and intermediate-term gov't bonds

	TOTAL RETURN	TOTAL ASSETS
1. Vanguard Total Bond Market Index Fund Institutional P	+8.0%	-0.6%
2. Vanguard Total Bond Market II Index Fund Investor Sh	+7.8	-0.7
3. Dodge & Cox Income Fund Class X (DOXIX)	+8.7	+1.5
4. American Funds The Bond Fund of America Class R-6	+8.3	+0.1
5. Strategic Advisers Fidelity Core Income Fund (FMWGX)	+8.4	+0.7
6. Fidelity U.S. Bond Index Fund (FXNAX)	+8.0	-0.7
7. Baird Aggregate Bond Fund Class Institutional (BAGIX)	+8.2	-0.1
8. JPMorgan Core Bond Fund Class R3 (CBSPX)	+8.1	-0.2
9. PGIM Total Return Bond Fund -Class R6 (PTRQX)	+8.5	+0.8
10. Vanguard Intermediate-Term Bond Index Fund Institut	+9.3	-0.2

Source: Morningstar

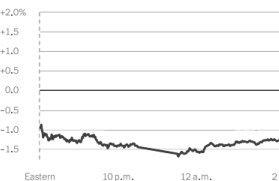
Sector performance

S&P 500 SECTORS



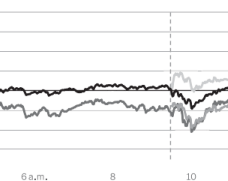
How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...

— Nikkei 225 (Japan): -1.3%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): -%



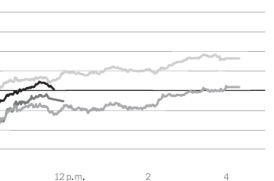
... in Europe

— FTSE 100 (London): +0.0%
— DAX (Frankfurt): -0.3%



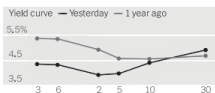
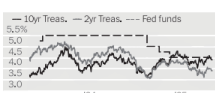
... and North America

— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): +0.1%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): +0.8%

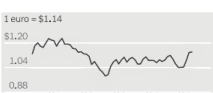


What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

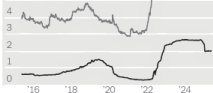
Bonds



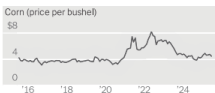
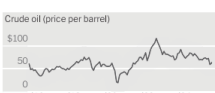
Currencies



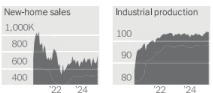
Consumer rates



Commodities



Economy



COMPANIES | LITIGATION



Rallying against Tesla's chief executive, Elon Musk, outside a Tesla dealership in San Francisco in March.



SpaceX's next-generation Starship spacecraft atop its Super Heavy booster launching in Starbase, Texas, last month.

After Months With DOGE, Musk Pivots to Project a Focus on Firms

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

ness titan. But that move is not likely to come easy after Mr. Musk spent months backing Mr. Trump's presidential campaign and dismantling parts of the federal government, raising concerns that he had become an absentee leader at his various enterprises, including SpaceX, Tesla, the artificial intelligence company xAI and the social media platform X.

Mr. Musk's time in government has been a decidedly mixed bag for his business empire. Tesla is particularly vulnerable after Mr. Musk's popularity nose-dived when he slashed government jobs. Tesla dealerships became the target of protests as sales and profit fell. What's more, the Republican budget bill now before the Senate would gut subsidies and policies that promote electric vehicles. Tesla's stock has dropped about 14 percent this year, wiping around \$180 billion off its market value.

Some of Mr. Musk's companies have benefited from his proximity to the White House, with Mr. Trump at one point promoting Tesla cars on the White House lawn and SpaceX harvesting more government tie-ups with Starlink, its satellite internet service. X remains a powerful megaphone for Mr. Musk's and Mr. Trump's supporters. And Mr. Trump is a valuable ally with policy power who oversees agencies that regulate Mr. Musk's businesses.

But Mr. Musk is the face of his companies, and his protracted time in Washington has raised alarms over how committed he is to his businesses. Some former workers at SpaceX and elsewhere have questioned his absence from the companies. Overall, it's unclear if the tech billionaire's Washington maneuvers will lead to long-term advantages for them.

"It became a mission critical thing to get the C.E.O. back in the office," said Eric Talley, a professor at Columbia Law School. "It's not a moment too soon, quite frankly."

How much time Mr. Musk will spend with his companies and outside Washington now remains unclear. At a news conference in the Oval Office with Mr. Trump on Friday, Mr. Musk called his departure from the government "not the end of DOGE but really the beginning" and said he would continue to visit "and be a friend and an adviser to



In the Oval Office on Friday, President Trump said: "Elon's really not leaving. He's going to be back and forth." Mr. Musk pledged to remain a friend.

the president."

"Elon's really not leaving," Mr. Trump said. "He's going to be back and forth."

Mr. Musk did not address how he would spend his time or how the change would affect his companies. He did not respond to an emailed request for comment. Tesla and SpaceX also did not respond to requests for comment. X and xAI declined to comment.

At SpaceX, Mr. Musk's absence had been felt in recent months. In May, Dylan Small, a former mechanic at the rocket company, posted on X that "morale is low" and "people are burned out."

"Your presence used to drive a fire in the team," Mr. Small wrote to Mr. Musk. "Please come back and walk the floor."

In a message to The New York Times, Mr. Small said SpaceX's work was largely the result of employees' feeling "inspired," with Mr. Musk playing "a huge role in

A prolonged absence had shareholders asking questions.

that."

Since the start of Mr. Trump's term, Mr. Musk has posted almost 1,000 times on X about SpaceX, which was half of the nearly 2,000 times he posted about DOGE, according to a tally by The Times. In that time, SpaceX has held two test launches of Starship, the rocket that Mr. Musk hopes will get humans to Mars, including one on Tuesday.

Last week, Mr. Musk gave an interview to The Washington Post — a news outlet he has typically shunned — and emphasized that he was "physically here" for SpaceX ahead of the Starship test launch from the company's Star-

base rocket facility in South Texas.

The launch ended in an explosion, but Mr. Musk still made a point to declare his presence. He reshared videos of himself in the SpaceX control center, as well as interviews with reporters and influencers talking about space travel.

At Tesla, Mr. Musk's level of disengagement from the business became clear in April. He had seldom visited Tesla's offices or factories since Mr. Trump's inauguration but showed up at one of the company's offices in Palo Alto, Calif., a few days ahead of an earnings call that month, according to two people familiar with his travel.

During the visit, Mr. Musk asked about the impact of Mr. Trump's tariffs on Tesla and was briefed on the effects and the company's supply chain vulnerabilities, two people familiar with the

meeting said. The timing of his question raised concerns from some attendees, since Mr. Trump had begun announcing tariffs two months earlier in February.

Days after Mr. Musk's visit, Tesla reported that its vehicle sales fell 13 percent in the first quarter from a year earlier, as profit plunged to its lowest level in four years. New tariffs on imported auto parts have added to the financial pressures facing the company.

Mr. Musk's political activities alienated buyers, said Matthew LaBrot, who worked in sales at Tesla in California. It became "a grind every day to sell a car when that did not used to be the case," said Mr. LaBrot, who was fired after he set up a website critical of Mr. Musk. "A lot of it was Elon."

Tesla executives have told people in recent months that Mr. Musk was not as involved in day-to-day details of the operations

and was dialing in remotely for meetings more frequently than before his stint at DOGE, two people with knowledge of the conversations said. A Tesla board member has sometimes stepped in to help fill in the gaps for Mr. Musk, one of them said.

Tesla, which faces stiff competition from Chinese electric car makers such as BYD, has tried to diversify more into A.I. and robotics. Mr. Musk has said the company would launch a ride-hailing service this month in Austin, Texas, with fully autonomous vehicles. The company has also aimed to start making a less expensive car, though it is unclear how different it will be from Tesla's existing vehicles.

During his time in government, Mr. Musk appeared to keep an eye on the fast-evolving field of A.I. He talked up xAI, his start-up, and posted hundreds of times on X about Grok, the chatbot made by the start-up. He also continued waging a legal battle against Sam Altman, who leads OpenAI and is a key rival in the A.I. industry.

In March, Mr. Musk sold X to xAI, merging the two companies. Last month, the combined company announced a tender offer, which allows employees to cash out some of their equity by selling the shares back to the company at a prearranged price, according to internal documents seen by The Times. The tender offer is tentatively scheduled for this month and valued the combined company at about \$113 billion, according to the documents.

On Wednesday, Linda Yaccarino, X's chief executive, held an employee meeting to rally workers around the idea that merging with xAI had led to the best teams and technology, two people familiar with the discussion said. That day, she posted on X to celebrate a partnership to integrate Grok into the messaging service Telegram.

Pavel Durov, Telegram's founder, also posted about the deal. "Elon Musk and I have agreed to a 1-year partnership to bring xAI's chatbot Grok to our billion+ users and integrate it across all Telegram apps," he wrote.

A few hours later, Mr. Musk made clear he was still the boss. "No deal has been signed," he posted on X.

Jack Ewing contributed reporting.

Big Snack Maker Sues Aldi Over Look-Alike Packaging

By TALYA MINSBERG

Wheat Thins or Thin Wheat? Nutter Butters or Peanut Butter Crème Filled Cookies? Nilla Wafers or Vanilla Wafers?

They may sound the same, look similar and, to some, even taste the same.

And that's exactly the issue for Mondelez International, a corporate giant behind the name-brand versions of many snacks.

Mondelez, which is based in Chicago, filed a lawsuit last month in a federal court in Illinois against the U.S. branch of the German supermarket chain Aldi, which has its U.S. headquarters in Batavia, Ill., over what it says is Aldi's look-alike product packaging.

The suit says that Aldi "blatantly copies" Mondelez signature snacks in a way that is "likely to deceive and confuse customers."

The lawsuit also claims that some of Aldi's packaging threatens to "dilute the distinctive quality of Mondelez's unique product packaging" and "irreparably harm Mondelez and its valuable brands."

Mondelez is seeking monetary damages and a court order preventing Aldi from selling products that Mondelez claims infringe on its trademarks.

Mondelez and Aldi did not immediately respond to requests for comment on Sunday.

The lawsuit singles out a number of products, including Chips Ahoy and Oreo cookies, Wheat Thins and Premium Saltine Crackers.

Mondelez claims that the Aldi versions of these products have design elements — colors, graphics and names — that are deceptively similar to the originals. Mondelez included side-by-side images of various brands in the lawsuit to highlight what it said were the similarities.

It's not an entirely surprising turn for Aldi, a supermarket chain that once operated under the slogan "Like Brands. Only Cheaper."

And so-called dupe products are nothing new.

Many generic products, from off-brand Tylenol to off-brand Kleenex, resemble brand-name products but cost less. That's the case for many Aldi-branded



snacks, which can generally be less expensive than the original brand.

The issue of look-alike packaging is not limited to Mondelez. Walk through the aisles of an Aldi store and you may see what look like brand-name snacks from other companies.

There are Clubhouse crackers

that come in a green box resembling that of the Club crackers brand; Baked Cheese Crackers that come in a red box resembling that of the brand name cracker Cheez-It; and Honey Buns pastries that come in a golden package that resembles that of Little Debbie Honey Buns.

For some customers, the differ-

ence is negligible.

There are social media accounts dedicated to taste-testing generic versions of big-name brands, and Reddit threads ranking customers' favorite dupes. ("I gasped out loud when I saw them," someone posted on Reddit in response to a dupe of Spindrift, a seltzer with fruit juice.)

Products from Mondelez, in the top row, and similar products from the Aldi supermarket chain, below. Mondelez contends that Aldi is mimicking its packaging in a way that confuses customers.

Aldi has faced lawsuits over its generic products before.

In December 2024, the supermarket chain was found liable in an Australian court for copyright infringement over children's snack packaging that resembled a rival's.

That case dated to August 2021, when Aldi grocery stores began selling children's snacks under the Mamma brand. The suit said some of the Mamma packaging, including the fonts, colors and cartoon characters, resembled that of Baby Belles, a product of an Australian-based company called Every Bite Cookies.

In January, a cider company in the United Kingdom won an appeal after suing Aldi in 2022 over trademark infringement.

Aldi, which was founded in Germany and has more than 2,400 stores in the United States, gained widespread popularity in part because of its lower prices. The stores have a smaller inventory than many major supermarkets, and 90 percent of their inventory are Aldi-exclusive brands.

NAM Y. HUH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TRADE



QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

China's Soft Spot In Trade War: Risk Of Huge Job Loss

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
 rero, chief economist for the Asia-Pacific region at the investment bank Natixis.

As employment opportunities in other sectors disappear, she said, the importance of preserving China's 100 million manufacturing jobs has grown.

This month, Chinese and U.S. officials agreed to temporarily reduce the punishing tariffs they had imposed on each other while they tried to avert a return to an all-out trade war that would threaten to undermine both economies.

In a research report, Natixis said that if U.S. tariffs stayed at their current levels of at least 30 percent, exports to the United States would fall by half, resulting in a loss of up to six million manufacturing jobs. If the trade war resumes again in full, the job losses could surge to nine million.

China's economy has struggled to recover from the pandemic, expanding more slowly than in the years of Mr. Trump's first term, when growth was more than 6 percent a year. Although the Chinese government has said it is targeting growth of around 5 percent this year, many economists have predicted that the actual figure will not reach that level.

In early 2018, China said its urban jobless rate had fallen to 15-year lows and that the country had created a record number of new jobs. Since then, government crackdowns and tighter regulations have subdued industries like technology and online education — once-thriving sectors that created herds of new jobs.

Over those years, unemployment climbed, especially among young people. The jobless rate among 16- to 24-year-olds was 15.8 percent in April, an improvement from the previous month. However, the figure is expected to surge again when 12 million new college graduates join the work force this year.

In 2023, when youth unemployment figures reached a record 21.3

percent, the Chinese government suspended the release of the figures. At the time, one prominent economist claimed that the actual figure was closer to 50 percent. Beijing started distributing the figures again last year with a new methodology that lowered the jobless rate.

At the same time, even those with jobs are in a more precarious position. Fewer companies are offering full-time employment, turning instead to gig workers for services like food delivery and manufacturing. While those jobs offer workers more flexibility, they usually pay less and provide few job protections or benefits.

The United States has its own liabilities. American industry is deeply dependent on rare earth metals and critical minerals controlled largely by China, while a halt in Chinese goods heightens inflation risk and could contribute to disruptive product shortages.

If the negotiations boil down to which country is able to withstand more economic hardship, China has an advantage in "trade war endurance," said Diana Choylova, chief economist at Enodo Economics, a London research firm focused on China. Beijing can tamp down discontent over labor market shocks more readily than American politicians can withstand anger over empty store shelves, she said.

According to official data, in April, before the United States and China agreed to suspend the heaviest tariffs, new export orders from China fell to their lowest level since 2022. Even over a one-month period, the sky-high tariffs took a toll on employment.

In Guangzhou, the center of China's garment industry, businesses closed as orders from foreign buyers dropped before the ultrahigh tariffs were paused. Many said the drop in orders forced them to hire fewer workers.

Jane Hu, an office worker in Shanghai, said she lost her job last month, not because of Mr. Trump's tariffs but from China's counter-



WANG ZHAO/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

measure to raise duties on American imports to 125 percent.

She said her former employer, a construction equipment company that had depended on bringing machinery into China from the United States, could not afford the tariffs, which more than doubled the costs of imports.

This compounded problems the business was already facing because of the property slowdown. Sales declined about 40 percent, making layoffs unavoidable.

At 33, Ms. Hu is worried she has too much experience for entry-level positions. Many companies are hesitant to hire women like her who are married without children because they do not want to have to potentially cover the cost

of parental leave, she said. Women in her age group have a saying, she said: "We are old and expensive. Why would any company choose us?"

She said she had landed only two job interviews. To bring in additional income, Ms. Hu started driving occasionally for ride-hailing services.

In late April, Yu Jiadong, a top official at China's Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, said the government had prepared a number of measures to keep employment stable, especially for Chinese exporters. He said Beijing would help companies keep their workers, and he encouraged entrepreneurship for the unemployed.

With so much at stake, sensitivities around employment are heightened. One factory owner in southern China, who asked not to be identified, said he had planned to lay off staff but held off when customers rushed to fill orders after the tariff truce. A government official had told him that if he needed to cut his work force, he should "do so properly and quietly to avoid creating a stir."

Factory owners who employ salaried workers are required by law to compensate them in a lay-off, said Han Dongfang, the founder of China Labor Bulletin, which tracks factory closures and worker protests. Usually, they are required to pay one month's salary for every year of employment,

More companies are relying on gig workers for services like food delivery, above. In the garment-making district in Guangzhou, above and below left, businesses closed as orders from foreign buyers dropped before the ultrahigh tariffs were paused. Unemployment is expected to surge.

making layoffs such an expensive prospect that some factories close down without notice, and the owners disappear.

Employment activity outside the manufacturing sector has contracted for more than two years, according to a monthly survey of industrial firms. The trade war has made firms more wary, adding another concerning factor for job-seeking college graduates.

"The current job market is much worse than before," said Laura Wang, 23, a graduate student studying accounting in Guangzhou. Ms. Wang said more than 80 percent of her classmates were struggling to find jobs.

She said the market was especially rough for students in finance and accounting. The few jobs and internships that are available have significantly higher requirements. The tariff-related upheaval has left businesses unlikely to take a chance on someone without a proven track record.

"There are a lot of uncertainties," Ms. Wang said. "For fresh graduates with no experience like me, the impact is even greater."

Daisuke Wakabayashi reported from Seoul, Meaghan Tobin from Beijing and Guangzhou in China, and Amy Chang Chien from Taipei, Taiwan. Siyi Zhao and Li Yu contributed reporting.

Amid Court Fights on Tariffs, Top Trump Trade Adviser Is Confident They'll Stay

By ANA SWANSON
 and TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — The legitimacy of President Trump's tariffs is being questioned by U.S. courts, but the president is showing no signs of backing off his favorite tool.

On Wednesday, the tariffs that Mr. Trump imposed on foreign steel and aluminum are set to double to 50 percent, a move that the president has said will better protect domestic metal markets.

In the coming days, the U.S. government is set to face off with states and businesses that have sued over the president's tariffs, and both sides will be required to submit more information as judges work toward final decisions on the legality of Mr. Trump's steepest tariffs.

Last Wednesday, the U.S. Court of International Trade ruled that some of the steep tariffs that Mr. Trump had imposed were illegal, a significant setback for the president's agenda.

Less than 24 hours later, a separate court temporarily paused that decision. As judges weigh that appeal, the tariffs in question will include the levies Mr. Trump imposed on Canada, Mexico and China for what he said was their role in the fentanyl trade, as well as the global tariffs Mr. Trump announced, and then quickly paused, in April — are expected to remain in effect at least until next Monday.

On Sunday, one of Mr. Trump's top trade advisers insisted that the president would continue to find ways to hit other countries with tariffs even after the trade court ruled against the defining element of Mr. Trump's strategy.

"Rest assured, tariffs are not going away," Howard Lutnick, the commerce secretary, said on "Fox News Sunday." He said the president possessed "so many other authorities" that if the court ultimately sided against the White House, Mr. Trump could still "bring on another or another or another."

A ruling against the government would strip the president of the use of a legal authority he has used to raise and lower tariffs on a whim, by declaring first fentanyl and then the U.S. trade deficit to be an "international economic emergency." The Court of International Trade ruled that Congress had not given the president such expansive authority.

But, as Mr. Lutnick noted, the president has many other ways to impose tariffs and has recently indicated that he is prepared to use them. On a visit to a Pennsylvania steel mill on Friday, Mr. Trump said he would double the tariffs he had imposed on foreign steel and aluminum this year, effective on Wednesday.

Our steel and aluminum industries are coming back like never before," the president later wrote on Truth Social. "This will be yet another BIG jolt of great news for our wonderful steel and aluminum workers."

The steel and aluminum tariffs were issued under a legal statute related to national security, known as Section 232. To impose those types of tariffs, the president must first initiate an investigation into whether imports of a certain item pose a national security threat. If the investigation determines that they pose a threat,



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

On a visit to a U.S. Steel plant in Pennsylvania on Friday, President Trump said he would double steel tariffs.

the president has the authority to tax those imports.

Mr. Trump has already used that authority to order tariffs on foreign cars and car parts. And his administration is carrying out investigations into many other areas, including pharmaceuticals, semiconductors, lumber, copper, airplanes, trucks and critical minerals.

Those investigations could be used to roll out more tariffs soon, regardless of the outcome of the court cases. There have been other historical investigations

where no action was taken but that could be, including on uranium and vanadium, used in the production of steel alloys.

Brad Setser, an economist at the Council on Foreign Relations, estimated that the Section 232 cases now in place or in process could potentially cover 40 percent of U.S. trade.

The president also has the trade case he started against China in his first term, which could be repurposed to quickly impose additional tariffs on Chinese goods. That case used another legal stat-

ute, known as Section 301, which also includes an investigation into whether imports are hurting American businesses before tariffs or other measures are issued to help them. There are a handful of other laws that give the president the authority to impose different kinds of tariffs as well.

Mr. Setser said replicating the scale of the tariffs that the court could strike down with these other authorities would be doable.

"It will just take more time, a lot more process and won't allow the president the same ability to raise

or lower tariffs over a weekend without any real capacity for interests that would be adversely affected by tariff shifts to provide comment," he said. "In other words, the trade war will slow down."

Mr. Lutnick and his counterparts in government had initially told the court that an adverse ruling could upset negotiations with other nations and undercut the president's leverage.

On Sunday, Mr. Lutnick sounded more sanguine, saying the ruling "cost us a week, maybe," insisting that "everybody came right back to the table" and that the president would achieve his goal of striking many new trade deals with other countries.

He also said the president was not expected to extend his original 90-day pause for the global tariffs that he imposed using the emergency authority that at least one court has ruled illegal.

Administration officials also reiterated on Sunday that China had violated the terms of the deal it struck with the United States in Geneva in mid-May that said the two nations roll back trade barriers against each other. Kevin Hassett, the director of the National Economic Council, suggested on ABC that there could be a discussion as soon as this week between Mr. Trump and China's president, Xi Jinping, though he later said nothing was scheduled.

Scott Bessent, the Treasury secretary, said separately on CBS that talks with China had stalled. He accused Beijing of holding back its exports of rare earth minerals, which are critical for global industrial supply chains.

Sports

The New York Times

SUMO WRESTLING

'I saw a 220-pounder like myself taking on the behemoths, and I said, "Hey, if they could do it, I could do it."

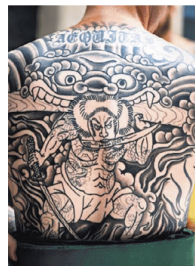
CHRISTOPHER ARNAU, on how attending a sumo exhibition prompted him to join the New York Sumo Club.

By AIMEE ORTIZ

Standing proudly at 5 feet 7, Angelo Jesus Lizardi might as well have been on a quest to battle Goliath as he stepped into a sumo fighting ring on a recent Saturday evening in the courtyard of Japan Village in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. He is a muscular wrestler, but compared with his opponent, he is also, well, small.

Lizardi, 25 and weighing in at 167 pounds, was facing off against one of his own coaches, Daniel Robert Douglas, who, at 6-6 and roughly 360 pounds, towered over him.

They were there as members of the New York Sumo Club, which has brought the ancient combat sport to the city, giving its practitioners a place to test their confidence, experience a mental boost and, perhaps most importantly,



Top, Matthew Kramer, left, and Josh Wade going head-to-head. Above, the wrestler Justin Hagen showing his ink.

find a community, Lizardi said.

As fans watched, some with mouths agape, the two fighters slammed directly into each other, with Lizardi burying his face in Douglas's chest. They grappled and fought for dominance near the edge. Then, Lizardi managed to grab Douglas's right leg and pull it up, disrupting Douglas's balance and driving him out of the ring.

Not only did Lizardi win, but he placed at the top of the open-weight-class division by the end of the day last month, ranking fourth out of 33 in what had been the first amateur sumo tournament in New York City.

"I live for those moments," Lizardi said later.

The Empire Cup, held by the New York Sumo Club on May 17, drew countless spectators who munched on snacks, some sipping on beers, as they cheered on 56 athletes who fought for a trophy and, mostly, bragging rights.

The one-day competition was the culmination of three years of hard work by Oscar Dolan, the club's founder, who is a wrestler himself and a former U.S. lightweight silver medalist.

Dolan, 25, who majored in Japanese in college, said he became a sumo fan after a project he did in 2019 on Enho Yuya, a popular lightweight sumo wrestler at the time. After a few years, Dolan wanted to try it for himself. He founded the organization in 2022 after realizing there were not any

Continued on Page B8

Everybody Gets Thrown In This New York Club

Sumo Enthusiasts Held Their First Tournament After 3 Years

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANN HERMES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BASEBALL

COMMENTARY

Kershaw Nears A Milestone, And Quaintness

By TYLER KEPNER
The Athletic

Durability and dominance are the twin pillars of pitching greatness. Prevent runs for a long time while humbling the world's greatest hitters. Few have ever done it better than Clayton Kershaw of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Sometime soon, Kershaw will record his 3,000th career strikeout. On Wednesday, in his third start of the season, Kershaw struck out three Cleveland Guardians to push his total to 2,974. His career earned run average is 2.51.

Only one pitcher in history has that many strikeouts with a better E.R.A.: Walter Johnson, who was born 100 years before Kershaw and last pitched in 1927. Johnson had a 2.17 E.R.A. and 3,509 strikeouts — and if he had whiffed batters at Kershaw's rate, he would have almost 6,400 strikeouts.

Kershaw's next start is scheduled for Tuesday, against the New York Mets. In my colleague Andy McCullough's engrossing Kershaw biography, "The Last of His Kind," Kershaw said flatly that he did not care about 3,000 strikeouts.

He does. "Yeah, I'd be lying if I didn't want to do it," Kershaw said recently. "But I think the coolest part is the company you get to be a part of. You know what I mean? There's just some really special names."

He laughed and continued: "I try not to think about it, because honestly, at this rate, 30 strikeouts seems like a lot. A lot can happen. But if I ever do get to do it, the guys that I came up with, Scherz and Verlander, I want to be in that group, too."

Justin Verlander (3,457 strikeouts), 42, is on the San Francisco Giants' injured list with a pec toral injury, and the 40-year-old Max Scherz (3,408), now with the Toronto Blue Jays, has been out since March with right thumb inflammation. Kershaw,

Tyler Kepner is a senior M.L.B. writer for The Athletic.

37, is coming off knee and toe operations. What a drag it is getting old.

The three aces, of course, have a lot to show for their hardship. Each has earned more than 200 victories (262 for Verlander, 216 for Scherz, 212 for Kershaw), which is hard to do without a lot of success before age 30. When Kershaw turned 30, he had 144 victories. Verlander had 124 at that age, Scherz 85.

The active under-30 leader in victories? The Giants' Logan Webb, 28, with 60 — fewer than half of what either Kershaw and Verlander totaled by 30. If there's a certain successor to Kershaw, he has revealed himself.

"It is weird to not see young guys figure it out," Kershaw said. "I wish there was a simple solution."

Nobody who started his career after 1988 has 300 career wins. But through this generation, is 200 also doomed? The master has thoughts.

"I hope starting pitching has a resurgence," Kershaw said. "I think it's better for the game to have starters throw 200-plus innings — 115, 120 pitches. Seeing those matchups in the seventh inning, that's what fans like. I think it's better for baseball, I think it's better for health, I think it's better for relievers. It's good for a lot of things."

"Now, how can we get back to this in an age when we have to have incredible stuff, be able to maintain it? I don't know how you get back to that, because I do think it is harder now. I think hitting is better. I think the strike zone's smaller. Even from 10 years ago, I think everybody's just better. I think the talent is just so much better."

Through Sunday, only one M.L.B. pitcher had reached 115 pitches in a start this season — Tampa Bay's Zack Littell, who recorded 117 on Saturday. The Dodgers have had only two seven-inning starts (both by Yoshi-nori Yamamoto), the same as the Milwaukee Brewers and the Mets. The Chicago White Sox have had one.

In spring training, after Gerrit Cole to Tommy John surgery, his



BRAD PENNER/IMAGN IMAGES

The Dodgers' Clayton Kershaw, who has 2,974 career strikeouts, says teams should try to revive the fading art of starting pitching.

teammate Carlos Rodón noted that every throw was tracked for shape and spin, even in the bullpen. It's max effort with every pitch, every time.

"I agree with that, but at the same time, that's how you get drafted, that's how you make it through the minor leagues," Kershaw said. "So that's what you do, because teams value that over learning how to pitch."

Kershaw, a father of four, drew an apt analogy: In farm systems, he said, it's as if teams build fleets of Ferraris without making any minivans. Sometimes, he said, a minivan gets the job done.

"So there needs to be some blend of it to a point where you can do both," he said, referring to power and durability. "I know everybody's starting to think about how to keep guys healthier and how to get starters, because we use our whole bullpen more than anybody, and as good as our bullpen is, it's a hard thing to sustain."

"I have tons of thoughts on it. Nobody knows if they're right."

It's unfair to demand that baseball produce more Kershaws. He is an outlier, after all, one of the greatest ever to do it. But it shouldn't be impossible.

And as Kershaw approaches another milestone, it's worth studying his species to ensure its survival.

Gimme Five

The Mets' Francisco Lindor is already one of the most accomplished all-around switch hitters in major league history. He is on the cusp of joining Carlos Beltrán and his former Cleveland teammate José Ramírez as the only switch hitters with 1,500 hits, 250 homers and 200 steals. And at 31 years old, he has lots of time to add to his résumé.

Lindor is a natural right-handed hitter. He has been essentially the same threat from both sides over his 11 M.L.B. seasons: through Sunday, 286/348/.492 as a righty and 269/340/.470 as a lefty. Not only do most breaking pitches move into him, he said, but being a switch hitter also affords a clearer view of every pitcher's release point. That is, he never faces a pitch delivered from behind his head.

Lindor — who modeled his style after a fellow infielder from Puerto Rico who was traded from Cleveland to the Mets — offered some insights before a recent game at Citi Field.



MARK J. REBILAS/IMAGN IMAGES

The Mets' Francisco Lindor says stubbornness fueled his drive to be a switch-hitter.

Why did you decide to switch hit?

"My favorite player, Roberto Alomar, and my brother and my cousin, they switch hit. I always wanted to be like them, so I did it. I always did it as a kid, but when I was 14, 15 years old, that's when I first took it seriously."

Did you struggle as you learned your left-handed swing? "There's

still struggles from the left side, still struggles on the right side. And I plan on it to be like that my whole career."

Why did you stay with it? "I'm stubborn, and my dad always said, 'If you can hit .500 from one side, why would you switch and make it harder on yourself?' So I used it as a motivation to prove to him that I can hit from both sides."

What advice would you give to aspiring switch hitters? "To stick to it — and if you take 200 swings from one side, you've got to take 200 from the other side as well. You've got to make sure you give the same amount of love to each side."

When you're hot (or cold) on one side, are you also hot (or cold) from the other? "Most times, yes, because it's the same brain."

When you're feeling good, you're feeling good. So you kind of bounce back from one side to another. But sometimes, it doesn't work like that, and vice versa: If you're struggling from one side, it doesn't mean you're going to struggle from the other side. So having two swings, when I'm struggling from one side, I try to imitate myself from the other side, and that helps."

STANLEY CUP FINALS | EDMONTON VS. FLORIDA

COMMENTARY

Elite Teams Sleepwalk at Times, but Their Alarm Goes Off in April

By MARK LAZERUS
The Athletic

Dustin Brown laughed at the question, at the very idea of it, at the possibility that a reporter could have such a limited understanding of the game of hockey, of the nature of the Stanley Cup playoffs.

During the 2014 Western Conference finals, Brown, the Los Angeles captain — who was in the midst of playing 64 extra games in a 26-month span — was asked why his Kings were so impressive in the postseason but so ordinary in the regular season. After all, they were the No. 8 seed in the West in 2012, the No. 5 seed in 2013, the No. 6 seed in 2014. Hardly dominant. Yet they won the Stanley Cup in 2012, reached the conference finals in 2013 and were on their way to another championship in 2014.

They were a team of wrecking balls, playing the heaviest brand of hockey we have seen in the salary-cap era. The Kings didn't just beat you, they beat you up. They beat you down. They beat you into a pulp.

So why weren't they winning their division every year? Why weren't they contending for the Presidents' Trophy, as the team that finished the season with the most points?

"You can't play this way for 82 games," Brown said. "You'd never survive. You have to save this for the playoffs. We're a playoff team, not a regular-season team."

Full disclosure: I was the reporter asking the question. That same postseason, I posed a similar question to Chicago's Bryan Bickell, who was a perennial disappointment in the regular season and a perennial monster in the playoffs. He gave basically the same answer: If he played like that for 82 games, he would have nothing left when the games actually counted.

Mark Lazerus is a senior N.H.L. writer for The Athletic.

In the fall of 2015, following the Blackhawks' Kings-like run of Cup, conference finals, Cup, I asked Marián Hossa during training camp if he ever showed up for the start of a season and thought to himself, "I can't believe I have to go through all this again." He chuckled.

"It's a long, long season," he said. "At this stage of my career, I kind of wish I could just skip ahead to the playoffs."

He was hardly alone. There comes a point in every great team's trajectory at which it is hit with the career-altering realization that, well, the regular season doesn't mean squat. The Panthers' Trophy is worthless. Seeding is meaningless. Home-ice advantage is not a big deal. All that matters is the playoffs — getting there and getting there as healthy as you possibly can.

Yes, sometimes that means coasting for long stretches of the regular season. Of weeks. Of months, even. Sometimes that means halfhearted efforts against lesser teams. Sometimes that means losing streaks and standings drops.

It can send fans into a panic or a rage, with torches and pitchforks always at the ready. But that panic never reaches the locker room. Not the locker room of a team that has been there, done that.

I am not here to say that the Florida Panthers and Edmonton Oilers don't care about the regular season. But there is a reason that the Panthers never blinked when they went 7-10-4 over the final month of the season, losing seven of their last 10 games and plummeting from first in the Atlantic Division and second in the Eastern Conference to third in the Atlantic and fifth in the East. Or when they lost six of seven in November, for that matter. Florida always knew that when the temperature rose, the level would, too. Sure enough, the Panthers have a chance to repeat as Stanley Cup champions



STEPH CHAMBERS/GETTY IMAGES

Health is more important than regular-season dominance, said Adam Henrique, left, of the Oilers.

after losing just five games in three rounds.

Same with Edmonton. Oilers Nation was gritting its teeth over a two-month run from Jan. 30 to March 27 in which its team went 9-11-2, falling from first in the Pacific and second in the West to third in the Pacific and sixth in the West. The preseason favorite to win it all looked like anything but a contender. But the Oilers met it all with a shrug. They knew that come April, come the games that mattered, they had what it took — on the ice and between the ears — to make another run to the Stanley Cup finals. And here they are, against those same Panthers, after a thorough dismantling of the Dallas Stars. They have won 12 of their past 14 in these playoffs.

To a great team, home ice is nice. But it's not a must.

"The regular season is a long, mental grind," Oilers forward

Adam Henrique said. "Maybe even more so than physical sometimes. And when teams are in their window to win, they're playing a lot of hockey year after year after year."

He added: "It's just having an understanding, being able to have a mature group that can go on the road and just take care of business, knowing what you have to do in order to win — that says a lot about a team. It's not do or die just to have home ice throughout the playoffs."

Henrique went to the Stanley Cup finals as a rookie with the New Jersey Devils in 2012, playing 24 extra games and getting a sense of how different — how much harder, how much more physical, how much more exhausting — playoff hockey was. When he came back a couple of months later for training camp, he couldn't believe how "mentally tired" he still was. Fitness

testing? Eight preseason games? Eighty-two regular-season games? Just to get back to the start of a potentially two-month playoff run? Really?

And that was just his second season. Now imagine that a decade into your career.

"You want to feel good about your game down the stretch going into the playoffs, for sure," Henrique said. "But you want to be healthy, and that takes priority if you're in a good position to allow yourself to take those extra days or games off. There's a lot that goes into it, rather than just trying to be the No. 1 seed."

Fans hate to hear about teams "flipping the switch" come the postseason. It feels disrespectful somehow, to the game, to those buying tickets to all those regular-season games. But the great teams — the tested teams — really do flip the switch. Pretty easily, in fact. It's what separates

them from the pack.

It helps when you know you can. When you have done it before, over and over. Only a handful of teams are good enough for long enough to reach that point.

In all the years I've been covering the N.H.L., I think of one player common more than any other. It came from Patrick Sharp, the longtime Blackhawks great, when he was with the Stars toward the end of his career. Lips get looser once you leave a team, especially as you near the end of your career, and I had asked Sharp point-blank if those great Blackhawks teams cared even the slightest bit about the regular season.

"When you're in the playoffs, you have a job to do, and you put everything else aside and you focus on that job," Sharp said. "You're not really caught up in how many games we've played or how tired we may be. But you feel it in training camp the next year. You feel it in those 'big' regular-season games in October, November, December, January that really aren't that big. Yeah, the Blackhawks got into Washington to play the Capitals in January, that's a 'big game.' But it's really not a big game when you were just in the Stanley Cup final a couple months ago. It was harder for guys to get up for the day-to-day grind of the regular season when we were going deep in the playoffs like that. Maybe that's why you saw the slumps in February and March."

It's a lesson worth remembering next season, when the Panthers or Oilers or Stars or Hurricanes or Lightning or Golden Knights go through a dry January or a feeble February. They haven't all won the Cup, but they all know what it takes. And when it takes it.

Let the other teams expend all that energy and all that emotion. The truly great teams know to save it for when it matters most.

For the playoffs. For right now.

Kansas City’s Team, Astride Two States, Is Wooed by Both

By NATE TAYLOR
The Athletic

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Clark Hunt, the owner of the Kansas City Chiefs, wants a domed stadium. He can visualize the potential next chapter of his franchise, one that could begin in just six years.

“I do think for the community, a dome would be a tremendous asset,” Hunt said at the N.F.L.’s annual league meeting in March. “It would give the Kansas City region an opportunity to host significant events.”

The Chiefs’ stadium question is about to reach a couple of pivotal checkpoints. By the end of June, the franchise hopes to decide which side of the Missouri-Kansas state line the team will play on after the 2030 season. With that time frame in mind, Gov. Mike Kehoe of Missouri called the general assembly back for a special session, in part to discuss the stadium tax-incentive program.

The most ambitious option for the Chiefs — who are also considering renovating Arrowhead Stadium — involves the construction of a dome in Kansas that would cost an estimated \$3 billion.

That option has already led Hunt and the team’s president,

financial framework to attract the Chiefs. Legislators in Kansas approved state bonds last summer to aid in financing new stadiums and practice facilities for both the Chiefs and baseball’s Kansas City Royals. If the Chiefs move to Kansas, the state bonds could cover up to 70 percent of the cost of building a stadium. The bonds would then be paid off over 30 years through revenue from sports betting, state lottery ticket sales and new sales and alcohol taxes collected from an entertainment district built around the stadium. The bonds expire June 30 but could be renewed for another year.

“Hypothetically, as you’re trying to figure out how to put a deal together, if you’re on either side of the table, you look at deadlines,” Donovan said. “That June 30 is real.”

The N.F.L.’s G-5 program, which allows a team to borrow up to \$300 million for projects if it matches with its own money and receives government assistance, would help support the construction of a stadium in Kansas. The loan is repaid through revenue sharing and premium seating revenue.

In response to Kansas’ move, Kehoe proposed the “Show Me Sports Investment Act,” which he said would allow Missouri to cover up to 50 percent of stadium construction costs through state-issued bonds. Kehoe said the plan would allow each team to bond up to the annual amount it generates in state tax revenue. The bill passed the Missouri House last month but lacked support in the Senate, which adjourned early, leading Kehoe to call the special session.

The Chiefs and the Royals, who play at Kauffman Stadium, share a lot of the Truman Sports Complex that runs through the city. In 2031. While the Royals want to play in a new ballpark before the end of the lease, the Chiefs will play all of their home games at Arrowhead through the 2030 season.

“Both options are very much in play,” Hunt said of renovating Arrowhead or building a dome in Kansas. “Really, our timeline is driven more by having enough time to do the renovation work or the construction so that we can be in the old or renovated building in the summer of 2031. To really comfortably stay on schedule, it would be best to have some direction by the summer.”

When Donovan reflects on the Chiefs’ first misstep, he can pinpoint the date: Feb. 28, 2024.

At the time, the Chiefs were the N.F.L.’s reigning back-to-back champions, the first team to accomplish that in two decades. Two weeks after their overtime victory in Super Bowl LVIII, Donovan and Hunt were back at Arrowhead to



MANICA, VIA KANSAS CITY CHIEFS



REED HOFFMANN/ASSOCIATED PRESS



BRUCE KLUCKHOHN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The owner Clark Hunt, left, seems in favor of building a dome in Kansas, rendered above, for future home games. Far left, the current Kansas City stadium in Missouri.

Renovate Arrowhead, or build a new dome over the state line?

Mark Donovan, to answer the question of whether a dome in Kansas would guarantee higher profits for the Chiefs and lead to more lucrative opportunities for the region.

“It’s definitely part of the conversations in Kansas,” Donovan said at the league meeting. “This is one of the reasons you do this.”

In less than a decade, the Chiefs have become the N.F.L.’s most prominent franchise in terms of marketing and elevated viewership. The Chiefs are also the first team in history to reach five Super Bowls in six seasons. Hunt believes a dome would further propel his franchise.

A domed stadium would allow the Chiefs to host such events as college basketball’s Final Four, a College Football Playoff game, the Big 12 football championship game, concerts, college bowl games, W.W.E. events and even the Super Bowl.

In the last year, legislators in Missouri and Kansas have battled, publicly and in their legislative sessions, to present the best

Nate Taylor covers the Chiefs for The Athletic.

present the future of the 53-year-old venue. Hunt unveiled renderings that would improve suites, video boards and club lounges, among other changes.

“The response was less than positive,” Donovan said, adding, “We’re not going to make that presentation again without some changes, a better picture.”

Working together, the Chiefs and the Royals put forward their full plan to voters in Jackson County, Mo. The clubs agreed to remain in the county — with the Royals building a new downtown ballpark — for at least the next 25 years, if voters agreed to an extension of the three-eighths-cent sales tax.

The Royals’ owner, John Sherman, said the club would pledge at least \$1 billion from its ownership group for the project. Arrowhead’s projected renovations were expected to cost \$800 million. Hunt said he and his family would contribute \$300 million.

Voters rejected the extension of the sales tax. The margin of defeat was overwhelming, with 78,352

people voting no and 56,606 voting yes.

“You learn the importance of communication and being careful with your communication,” Donovan said. “It’s amazing how little things get twisted around.”

Several city and county leaders felt the Chiefs’ and the Royals’ financial commitments weren’t enough.

The Jackson County executive Frank White, who is in the Royals Hall of Fame, never fully agreed to the proposal. KC Tenants, a 10,000-member tenants’ rights and housing advocacy group, campaigned against the proposal, stressing that taxpayers would pay too large a percentage to help build a new ballpark and further modernize Arrowhead.

“Two billion dollars in taxpayers’ money, man, could do a hell of a lot to develop our community,” Michael Savvorio, one of the union leaders with KC Tenants, told Kansas City television station Fox4 hours after the election.

“The billionaires don’t finance my follies. Why should I finance theirs?”

Just weeks after the vote in Jackson County, Mo., Manica Architecture, a firm in Kansas City, Kan., that has designed several American stadiums, revealed renderings to Kansas legislators that showed a sprawling enclosed stadium with a retractable roof. If the Chiefs agree to move to Kansas, the construction of such a stadium could begin in 2028.

The architect Charles Deaton designed Arrowhead in the 1960s to give fans the best view possible. The stadium’s lines are symmetrical and curved; its distinctive spiral ramps dot the venue’s corners. Arrowhead has a scalloped upper deck in each end zone, giving it a unique look.

The best feature of Deaton’s design was discovered almost two decades after Arrowhead opened: It was created to produce thunderous sound, a level of crowd noise that has reached 142.2 decibels and can keep opposing players from hearing the snap count.

If the Chiefs choose to renovate Arrowhead, one question looms:

SUMO WRESTLING

At Brooklyn’s New York Sumo Club, Everyone Gets Thrown Sooner or Later



From left: the New York Sumo Club’s founder, Oscar Dolan; the judge Taiga Izuka; and Angelo Lizardi at the Empire Cup; wrestlers lining up before a match; spectators watching the action in the ring.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANN HEMES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

From First Sports Page
amateur sumo wrestling clubs in the city.

“I had to start my own, kind of begrudgingly at first, but, you know, starting my own made me get so much more into it,” he said.

The New York Sumo Club has grown steadily since its inception, even accounting for hiccups, Dolan said. The club has about 100 wrestlers, with around 20 regulars. When it first started, members met and grappled on the meadow in Prospect Park. Now, they gather every Sunday at Queens Jiu Jitsu, a martial arts school in Astoria, and the club is “pretty much sustainable, almost profitable,” Dolan said.

The club even has its own genuine portable dohyo, a sumo wrestling ring, made by Sanpuku Shoji. It was imported from Japan and is similar to those used by wrestlers there.

Membership in the club is “mostly based on vibes,” Dolan said. Members pay a \$20 mat fee per session, and if you show up at least once a month, you are considered a regular. There’s also a group chat for people who want to talk about sumo in their free time.

Over the years, sumo has gained in popularity around the world, though it remains closely linked to Japanese tradition and culture. Many young people in Japan, however, may see it as old-fashioned. Last Wednesday, Onosato Daiki of Japan was named yokozuna, or grand champion, the highest title in the sport. He is the first Japanese yokozuna in eight years, and only the second in 27 years.

Sumo fighters observe the original rules of the sport, which has been “practiced the same way for 1,300 years,” Dolan said.

In “Grand Sumo,” as the sport is known, the rules are fairly simple,

according to the Japanese public broadcaster N.H.K.

The goal is to force your opponent out of the ring to win, or to “make him touch the ground with anything other than the soles of his feet.”

While the rules are largely the same, amateur sumo forbids ex-

When a fan of the sport found no club, he started his own.

plicit openhanded strikes to the face and bans a technique called Saba-ori, or forward force down, in which larger wrestlers will lean their entire weight onto smaller opponents.

On the day of the Brooklyn tour-

nament, gray clouds parted in time for the first match, bathing wrestlers in brilliant sunlight as the competition heated up.

Sumo matches are fast, often ending in seconds. Wrestlers enter the ring, bow and are told “hakkeyoi!” a ceremonial salute that functionally means “go!” Immediately after, there is the slap of skin on skin as the wrestlers grapple, and the groji, or referee, repeatedly shouts “nokotta” (or “still in”) as the two opponents fight for a win. The fights are so intense that officials warned the Brooklyn crowd to watch for falling wrestlers.

Winners are forbidden from celebrating. Dolan reminded the wrestlers of this rule during the tournament, telling them that inside the ring, “we are samurai” and follow the Bushido traditional code of conduct of military warriors in feudal Japan, which emphasizes virtues such as honor

and bravery.

One of the first wrestlers in tournament in Brooklyn was Lizardi, who has been a club member for about a year and who works at a gym. Although he falls into the lightweight category, he likes to use speed and technique to outmaneuver giants.

“Some of these guys might be bigger, but they have no experience in grappling,” he said. “So it gives me the advantage to throw them off balance, you know, use their weight against them.”

After watching the World Championship Sumo exhibition at Madison Square Garden last year, Christopher Arnau, 41, knew he had to try it.

“I saw a 220-pounder like myself taking on the behemoths, and I said, ‘Hey, if they could do it, I could do it,’” he said.

So he looked online, found the club and joined. He had his first

competition in Las Vegas last November and emerged with “some wins.”

Sumo is “very humbling,” Arnau said, adding that it’s a sport “where everybody gets thrown.”

“Everybody gets slammed in the mat once in a while.”

Members of the New York Sumo Club praised the camaraderie they found in their group of wrestlers.

The community built by the club is an inclusive one, where “all body types, all gender expressions” are welcome, said Douglas, the club vice president and founder of the company Mountain Mawashi, which provides the belts for the club’s amateur sumo wrestlers.

A self-proclaimed “big guy,” Douglas, 32, said he liked sumo because he liked “seeing big guys move fast, move athletically, be explosive and be respected.”

TENNIS | FRENCH OPEN

Small Changes Help American Men Find Foothold on Clay in Paris

By MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

PARIS — It sounds like the start of a bad joke.

Two American men walk onto a court at Roland Garros to play a tennis match on red clay. Now, choose your punch line:

Both lose? At gunpoint? The golf courses were all closed?

Ask any of the American men who made it to the second week of this year's French Open. They have heard it all their tennis lives, and they will continue to hear it until one of them wins the French Open for the first time since Andre Agassi ruled the red clay in 1999.

Such is life for players reared on the hard courts of the United States. They know that it is a reputation that they have earned, as much as inherited.

"I used to not be very excited to come out here," Tommy Paul said after his second-round win over Marton Fucsovics. Paul, who actually won the French Open junior title 10 years ago, could not translate that comfort into the real deal.

"Three, four years ago, I definitely wasn't super comfortable on the clay. Honestly, everything kind of changed a little bit."

No one would dare predict that an American man is going to be lifting the Coupe des Mousquetaires on Sunday. But the current generation of American 20-somethings is still taking promising baby steps in the City of Light.

First, five American men reached the third round for the first time since 1996. When the red brick dust settled on those matches, Paul, Ben Shelton and Frances Tiafoe had advanced to the fourth round, with Tiafoe knocking out his fellow American Sebastian Korda.

On Sunday, Shelton ran into the No. 2-seeded Carlos Alcaraz and lost in four sets, though it was close. But Paul whipped through Alexei Popyrin of Australia in three sets on Sunday, 6-3, 6-3, 6-3, and Tiafoe beat Daniel Altmaier in straight sets, 6-3, 6-4, 7-6 (4). Both are into the French Open quarterfinals for the first time.

Ethan Quinn, the 2023 N.C.A.A. individual men's singles champion, nearly joined Paul, Tiafoe and Shelton in the last 16 but fell just short, losing in five sets to Talon Griekspoor of the Netherlands. Still, three American men in round four was the best result since 1995, and the two quarterfinal berths are the first for any American man since 2003, when Agassi reached the quarterfinals.

There are good draws and kismet in this success on the men's side. There is a U.S. broadcaster, in which is all in on the event, so more people are paying attention. The players' phones

Matthew Futterman is a senior tennis writer for *The Athletic*.



Tommy Paul breezed past Alexei Popyrin in three sets on Sunday to earn a quarterfinal berth.



Frances Tiafoe was 4-4 on the clay swing before the Open, but he also reached the quarterfinals.

are lighting up. The vibes are good.

Quinn had caught a lucky break in Round 1 when the 16th-seeded Grigor Dimitrov injured his leg while in possession of a two-set lead. Dimitrov retired a set later, and Quinn went through, where he survived five sets against Alexander Shevchenko of Kazakhstan.

In the third round, Quinn was twice up a set on Griekspoor before the blistered finger and tired legs from going the distance took in a row got too much.

Shelton caught some fortune too, getting a walkover in the second

round from France's Hugo Gaston, the diminutive and underpowered craftsman of clay court tennis. But he had already ousted Lorenzo Sonego of Italy, who knows his way around the clay, during his debut on the main stadium court, Philippe-Chatrier, on the opening night.

This sort of performance is old hat for American women. Serena Williams won the French Open three times. Coco Gauff, Sloane Stephens and Sofia Kenin have all made the final. Gauff was a semi-finalist last year.

There were five American

women in the last 16 this year, including Hailey Baptiste, the 23-year-old Tiafoe family protégé from Washington, D.C. He describes her as his little sister. His twin brother, Franklin, is one of her coaches. The red dirt is her favorite surface.

"About time," the world No. 3 Jessica Pegula joked, when asked about the success of the American men. The country's collective success — eight players in the fourth round — was a 40-year high.

And while there is no overnight revolution in men's tennis in the United States, built on red bricks

and slides, there is "a little bit" of something different.

"They were taught how to play tennis, not just hit the ball," said Patrick McEnroe, the former pro and Davis Cup captain who is commenting for TNT this tournament.

McEnroe played a major role in cultivating this generation of Americans, as the director of player development for the U.S. Tennis Association from 2008 to 2014. He hired Jose Higueras, the Spanish clay-court specialist of the 1970s and '80s, to teach Americans that tennis is more than a game of big serves and forehands. The movement, point construction, patience, angles, spins and height that clay-court tennis requires are the building blocks of a career, not just expertise on one surface.

Nearly two decades after McEnroe's first day in that job, tennis has evolved. The men's game has more power, more speed, more physicality — and more variation, right at the top. Certain tenets still apply. Free points on the serve will be fewer and farther between. A well-placed delivery is better than a booming one. Big swings when pushed out of position won't send the ball sliding through the court like on grass or acrylic; opponents will dig the ball back into the open court.

And pretending to be a clay-court specialist for eight weeks of the year is little more than a waste of time.

"I remind myself it's just tennis," Paul said. "You're just playing tennis on a different surface. And we're good tennis players. We got to figure it out. I think we're doing a better job of that."

Shelton is learning how to run fast with small steps. He is figuring out how to slice his lefty backhand in both directions. He is sliding into shots, rather than through them.

After his third-round win over Matteo Gigante, Shelton said he is also finding ways to combine those clay-court skills with his aggressive identity.

"Not just thinking I have to be 20 feet behind the baseline and play high and heavy, like the traditional clay-court game," he said. "I can still play my game style and be effective on clay."

It's entirely possible that this generation of American tennis players is full of better athletes than the ones before. Sam Querrey, another TNT analyst, said during an interview at Roland Garros that he didn't start learning how to slide until he was 17. More than a decade later, he was still learning.

"I remember going to my coach and saying: 'At this point, I'm not going to get it,'" Querrey said.

"Why do we keep trying to do this?"

Querrey said that when he looks at today's Americans, he sees them playing their preferred styles, with slight adjustments. When in Europe, do as the Europeans do — just not too much.

That's where Quinn landed. Brian Garber, his day-to-day coach, said he has told Quinn not to change the way he plays. He should serve well and hunt for forehands and believe that he is going to love clay and be good on it.

Brad Stine, Garber's boss and Paul's coach, also had Quinn turn his back on his own.

"My guys are practicing with South Americans and Europeans the entire time on the clay," Garber said. "Americans with Americans doesn't help. You aren't seeing the type of tennis you're going to play, and you get rewarded in practice when you shouldn't be because the other guy doesn't know

Sending three into the fourth round is the best result for the U.S. since 1995.

what he's doing on clay either."

The biggest surprise of the tournament has to be Tiafoe, even though he is a two-time Grand Slam semifinalist. He was 4-4 this clay swing coming into Paris. Last weekend, he called his form "crusty."

He now has four wins that looked unlikely at the start of the week. Beating Korda may be the unlikeliest of all.

Korda, 24, looks to be the American man best placed for a deep run in Paris. He is the son of Petr Korda, the Czech former world No. 2. Sebastian grew up in Florida, but his parents raised him on green clay there, believing it would be easier on his body. He has always been comfortable sliding around, he said.

"For some of the Americans, it's obviously a learning curve," Korda, who made the fourth round in 2020, said in an interview last week. "Once you just get comfortable on it, you can play some better tennis on it."

After all these years, Tiafoe looked like he was getting there during his win over Korda, but he wasn't too concerned about doing what the surface says he should.

"It's super critical not to worry about what was and just worry about what is," Tiafoe said after the Korda win. "Currently we're at the French Open. Just try to be elite."

GOLF

A Hill Carefully Climbed For a U.S. Open Victory

By BRODY MILLER

ERIN, Wis. — Everything is clear atop the ninth tee, from the hill overlooking the rolling mounds and marshes. There are barns and dairy pastures in view across the sprawling Wisconsin countryside.

The Erin Hills golf course is visible from one end to the other, hardly a tree in sight, from the large wooden clubhouse in the



No. 1 Nelly Korda, done in by her putting, tied for second.

south to the 18th green in the center, and the fields of grain to the 15th hole tucked in the northeast corner. The man in charge of this event, Mike Whan, the chief executive of the U.S. Golf Association, called it "Field of Dreams for golf."

And atop this hill, it is clear how the 80th U.S. Women's Open was decided.

The daunting eighth hole with

Brody Miller covers golf for *The Athletic*.

its steep, blind fairway is to the left. To the left is the 10th tee shot. A little farther left are the approaches into the 11th green. A few steps behind is the valley that is the 12th hole in between mounds, and the downhill par-3 No. 13 around a marsh.

But just in from the true stage of this U.S. Open, No. 9 is a downhill par 3, a 145-yard shot surrounded by slopes and bunkers with just the tiniest landing spot.

It's at this spot where contender after contender rolls from the center of the green, off to the right and down the fairway for bogey. Ruoning Yin and Sarah Schmelzel entered with hope, only to roll off that slope and say goodbye. Linn Grant hit her ball to 19 inches, the shot of the week there, to gain hope of her own.

Nelly Korda, the No. 1 player in the world but trailing the leader Maja Stark on Sunday, hit the perfect, correct play on No. 9. Left side of the green along the ridge, away from the bunkers, away from that center slope. Nine feet for a birdie. This was the kind of U.S. Open golf Korda has been clamoring for. Patient yet scorable. Dialed but not risky. No blowups for the critics to come in. The tournament was coming to her, if she could just grab it.

The birdie putt did not fall. So some 20 minutes later, when Stark finally made her way up the hill, she had already done all she would need to win this U.S. Open. At 7 under par, with Korda one behind, Stark did not need to attack. U.S. Opens are not often won by heroes. They are won by the correct decisions made across four days, well before any singular Sunday moment.

Stark found her line and hit an approach into No. 9, rolling up the center, past the pin and hanging up top for an easy two-putt par.



Maja Stark of Sweden on Sunday at Erin Hills after capturing her first major L.P.G.A. title.

Stark had come this far by playing proper U.S. Open golf. She found fairways. She hit greens. She controlled her spin on those evil edges. She played the back nine in par to seal her first major victory on Sunday in a two-shot victory that felt like more.

On a course where 197 double bogeys were scored — and 33 holes even worse — Stark bogeyed just 10 of 72 holes. She was the only player in the field to go under par each of the first three rounds, and the only reason she finished Sunday's round with a 72 was that her four-shot lead meant she could play uber-conservative and bogey Nos. 17 and 18.

This was a U.S. Open won by a golfer who said she had low expectations going in. "I haven't been playing that well lately," she said. Stark had just one top-20 finish in the previous eight months, and she had not truly contended since finishing second at the Chevron Championship 13 months ago.

But another rule of thumb for U.S. Opens: They are not won by players trying to win a U.S. Open. They are won by respecters of the golf course, stewards of par. They go to the golfers who limit mistakes and capture the opportunities given. They are earned, rarely taken.

And sometimes it takes a win to see the greater picture.

Stark was 20, an Oklahoma State freshman, when she finished tied for 13th in her U.S. Open debut. A year later, she went to the Olympic Club and finished tied for 16th, giving her two U.S. Open top 20s before she turned pro. Two years later, in perhaps her worst professional season, Stark came in tied for ninth at Pebble Beach. She is a U.S. Open golfer, and sometimes, it is that simple.

"I don't really think I ever felt that my confidence was great," Stark said. "I think that I just stopped trying to control everything, and I just kind of let every-

thing happen the way it happened."

As much as Stark was Sunday's story, though, it is impossible to ignore the story of every women's golf tournament these days: Korda. Because she is the game's best, and because she is the one who admittedly puts so much pressure on U.S. Opens, it leads to implussions and missed cuts. In her previous 10 starts, she rarely left herself in contention at all.

But this week was different. From tee to green, Korda did everything to earn this U.S. Open. She launched it off the tee and still ranked third in fairways found. She was second in greens in regulation and tied the entire championship in the tee-to-green strokes gained category. No silly errors. No short-game blowups. Korda did not find a single bunker for four days. She put herself in every good spot and left herself a birdie putt on what seemed like every hole.

Putts on the pivotal No. 9 tell the tale as Stark holds off Korda.

They just did not fall. "Not much to say other than it does sting to come up short," she said.

Korda finished 52nd in putting out of the 60 golfers who made the cut. Other than two painful short misses Friday, she did not miss gimmes, either. The 50-50 putts just never went her way.

"When you strike it really well and you give yourself so many opportunities, it does get, at the end of the day, frustrating. It comes down to your putting, right?" she said. "I wasn't hitting bad putts. Not at all. I wasn't pushing them. I wasn't pulling them. They just weren't falling."

The pain for Korda will not be about any glaring mistake or huge missed chance that turned the tide. It will be about the opportunities she amassed over 72 holes, and how she just could not quite take them.

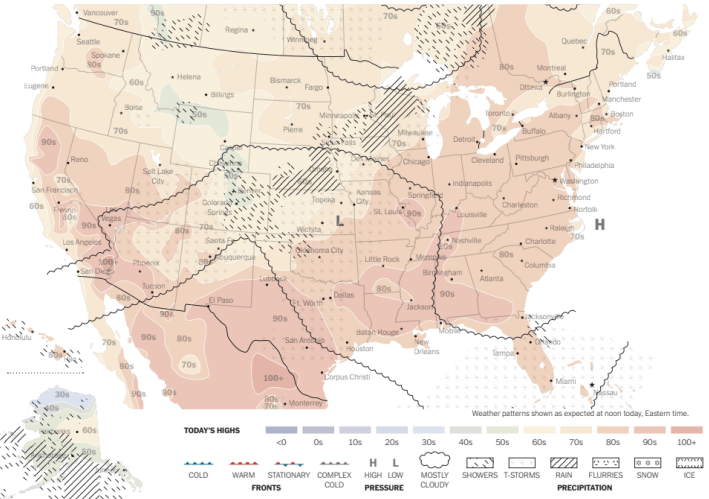
Instead, Stark goes into the history books, joining the club of Swedish major winners like Annika Sorenstam and Anna Nordqvist. She will continue her career as a golfer who knows that, even when her game is not in form, she can play proper golf and win.

"Obviously, with the pressure and everything, your mistakes get bigger," Stark said, "but it felt like I controlled everything that was thrown at me really today."

Perhaps the greatest winner of the week was Erin Hills. It is a course criticized for how it played eight years ago in the men's U.S. Open, a week when Brooks Koepka ran away at 16 under par and the lack of wind made it appear easy. But this week was an undeniable success, those slopes causing damage, those greens forcing balls to fly from end to end. Those beautiful rolling hills made everything clear.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: Florida Turns Stormy This Week

Low pressure will draw tropical moisture north into Florida and as far north as the coastal Carolinas this week and the result will be a significant increase in showers and heavy thunderstorms. By midweek, a second area of low pressure will form east of Florida, which may lead to an increase in wind and rough surf along the Atlantic beaches as well as persistent bands of rain.



National Forecast

Rain and thunderstorms are forecast today from Minnesota and Wisconsin on south to the Plains, Oklahoma and Texas. Thunderstorms in much of this area are expected to turn severe, especially in the afternoon and at night, with the potential to bring damaging winds, hail, flooding downpours and isolated tornadoes.

Aside from thunderstorms in Florida, most of the East will be dry, but smoke from Canadian wildfires will affect the East. Although air quality will not be severely impacted, haze will make for more colorful sunrises and sunsets.

The Northern Plains will be cool, while mainly dry conditions are anticipated across the western United States. The exception will be showers occurring in parts of Colorado and Utah.

Metropolitan Forecast

TODAYHazy and warmer
High 80. High pressure along the Eastern Seaboard will bring dry weather to the area for the entire day. There will be plenty of sunshine, but the sky will appear hazy due to high-altitude smoke overhead.

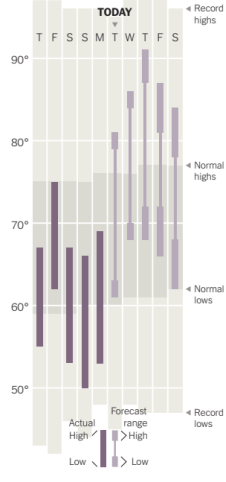
TONIGHTMostly clear
Low 62. High pressure centered off the East Coast will keep the weather dry during the night. The sky will be mostly clear, and winds will be very light. Temperatures will be close to what is typical in early June.

TOMORROWWarm, humid, hazy sun
High 85. A zone of high pressure will drift a bit farther off the East Coast but will continue to be the main weather feature. Hazy sunshine will lead to warmer and slightly more humid conditions.

THURSDAYVery warm and humid
High 89. A very warm and rather humid air mass will be in place. There will be a mixture of clouds and sunshine with a stray afternoon or evening thunderstorm.

FRIDAYHumid, thunderstorm or two
Friday will continue to be warm and humid with more clouds than sunshine as well as a spotty afternoon thunderstorm. High 84.

SATURDAYHumid with a thunderstorm. High 81.



Metropolitan Almanac

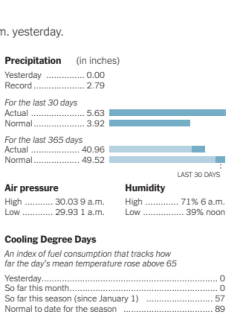
In Central Park, for the 13 hours ended at 1 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature

Temp	0s	10s	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	100s
COLD											
WARM											
FRONTS											
PRECIPITATION											

PRECIPITATION

Symbol	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0
SHOWERS											
STORMS											
ICE											



Cities				Little Rock				New Delhi				Europe			

2 VIDEO GAMES
Connecting the dots from Bloodborne to Duchamp.

2 COMIC BOOKS
During Pride Month, stories that feel powerfully personal.



4 MUSIC
Sending a dance card into the cosmos: Aliens, get ready to waltz to Strauss.



The Naoshima New Museum of Art, which overlooks the Seto Inland Sea of Japan, opened on Saturday. It focuses exclusively on contemporary Asian art. The building was designed by the Pritzker Prize-winning architect Tadao Ando.

Islands of Art and a Billionaire's Quest

Benesse Art Site Naoshima, a constellation of museums in Japan, adds its 10th.

By TED LOOS

NAOSHIMA, JAPAN — On a tree-dotted hill on this island in the Seto Inland Sea of Japan, a museum was being completed, with construction equipment on hand and workers finishing their day.

The Naoshima New Museum of Art, a concrete structure by Tadao Ando, has a few unusual touches for a building by this Pritzker Prize-winning architect. There's a pebbly wall along the walkway to the en-

trance. To harmonize with the townscape, it has a black plaster exterior, exhibition spaces that are largely underground, and a single story above, topped by a sloped metal roof. The iridescent sea is visible from the top floor.

The museum, which opened on Saturday, is the latest star in the constellation of more than three dozen museums and projects called Benesse Art Site Naoshima, which spread across three islands. The New Museum is the first to focus exclusively on con-

temporary Asian art.

It is likely to provide more fuel for global art pilgrims — some six million of them since 2004 — who have flocked to the islands, most taking a couple of trains and a ferry to experience major artworks in unusual settings.

Some of the Benesse installations are set into the landscape, while others are placed in what look like normal houses in a village, hidden in plain sight.

CONTINUED ON PAGE C5

You Can Feel Her Authority



Natalie Venetia Belcon plays an imperious singer in "Buena Vista Social Club."

Natalie Venetia Belcon of 'Buena Vista Social Club' has worked hard to fit the role.

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

As she exits the stage door of "Buena Vista Social Club," the Broadway actress Natalie Venetia Belcon can see it in their eyes. The waiting fans thrust Playbills and pens into the hands of her co-stars, but when Belcon comes down the line, she senses their shyness, their wariness.

"They're afraid," she said. "It's so weird. I'm like, 'You guys, I'm pretending!'"

Onstage, Belcon, 56, plays the middle-aged version of Omara Portuondo, the Cuban singer known as "the queen of feeling." (Isa Antonetti portrays the teenage version.) Belcon's Omara is stately, imperious. "You're not the kind of woman one forgets," a bandmate in the show tells her. She can dismiss a person with a tilt of the head, a wave of the hand. The role has earned Belcon a Tony nomination, her first, for best performance by a featured actress in a musical.

Belcon is, she insists, not Omara, but some of this same majesty was evident even over a casual afternoon snack of calamari and plantains at Cuba, a restaurant in the West Village of Manhattan. The waiter seemed honored to shake up a mojito for her. Belcon, dressed like some expensive, resplendent bird in a blue-and-yellow skirt and matching jewelry, looked regal as she sipped it.

Then she pointed to the stalk of sugar cane in the glass. "Oh, I love sugar cane!" she said delightedly. "I grew up chewing on it. Then you catch yourself in the mirror, like, 'That doesn't look sexy!'"

CONTINUED ON PAGE C5



In "Mountainhead," Cory Michael Smith is an oligarch who wants to transcend humanity.

This 'Mountainhead' Star Only Looks Like a Nihilist

Cory Michael Smith, in demand more than ever, plays a tech god in the HBO film.

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

Cory Michael Smith was disappointed. "I'm a big fan of pepperoni with a little more constitution," he said, looking down at the slice of pizza on his plate. "These are tired. They're tired cups."

This was the day after the premiere party for "Mountainhead," the Jesse Armstrong movie that premiered Saturday on HBO. A Vantablack comedy of wealth, power and

moral negligence, it evokes Armstrong's earlier fable of the megarich, "Succession," but is more explicitly attuned to current anxieties about Silicon Valley oligarchs.

Smith stars as a social media mogul named Venis (rhymes with menace), a pampered edgelord holed up in a cartoonishly swank chalet (the Mountainhead of the title) with other tech machers, played by Steve Carell, Jason Schwartzman and Ramy Youssef. Venis's content creation tools have destabilized much of the global South, but he remains mostly unbothered.

"Nothing means anything, and everything is funny and cool," he tells his fellow

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6



Top, a screenshot from Bloodborne, a video game some see as having a Modernist feel, similar to that found in works like Picasso's "Guernica" (1937), above right. Above left, Duchamp's "Nude Descending a Staircase" (1912), which has been compared to a video game glitch.

Picasso Might Have Enjoyed Playing This Video Game

The vexing Bloodborne draws comparisons to challenging works by Modernist artists.

By **ETHAN DAVISON**

Most big-budget video games work hard to appeal to a broad player base. Boot up The Last of Us: Part II and Red Dead Redemption 2 and you will be treated to cinematic introductions that neatly outline mechanics and plot, spelling out details with lengthy tutorials and exposition-laden dialogue.

Bloodborne, which is celebrating its 10th anniversary this year, took a drastically different approach: It dropped gamers into the deep end and ignored their cries for help.

Fans of other challenging games by FromSoftware loved it. Others despised it. Dan Stapleton, persuaded by enthralled co-workers at IGN to give Bloodborne a shot, called the experience "tediously repetitive and very rarely fun," and "more chore than challenge."

He was not alone. Based on public PlayStation data, less than half of those who begin Bloodborne defeat its first boss, a hulking antlered monster that players encounter in the game's labyrinthine starting area. Only one in four players ever defeat Merigo's Wet Nurse, the many-limbed eldritch horror who must be vanquished to reach the game's most basic ending.

A century ago, influential artists like Picasso, Munch and Duchamp also confused and outraged audiences with difficult work that pushed the boundaries of the medium. The critic Julian Street, reviewing Duchamp's painting, "Nude Descending a Staircase," wrote that it was like "an explosion in a single factory." Critics and audiences were similarly skeptical of Modernist literature that demanded more from people than many were prepared to give.

Bloodborne, a mass-market game featuring beast hunters hacking up werewolves and aliens with giant saws in the fictional city of Yharnam, may appear to have little in common with these famous works. But Nathan Wainstein, an assistant professor of English at the University of Utah, sees the Modernist stamp all over Bloodborne.

In his book "Grant Us Eyes: The Art of Paradox in Bloodborne," he compares Duchamp's "Nude" not to a single factory explosion but to a video game glitch. Musing on thinkers like Theodor W. Adorno, Roland Barthes and Michael Fried to support his arguments, Wainstein describes Bloodborne as a continuation of the Modernist impulse to push art forward by challenging the expectations, and sometimes the patience, of its audience.



Above, screenshots of Bloodborne. The Museum of Modern Art curator Paul Galloway compared the game to "a Modernist novel."

Bloodborne is as comparable to a mass-market action game, he argues, as Joyce's "Ulysses" is to a Dan Brown novel.

Conversations about difficulty, the game's most obvious feature, can overshadow Bloodborne's artistic achievements. But for Wainstein and other scholars, it's a central element of the game's ambition.

"People often think of play as easy," said Patrick Jagoda, a game designer and an English professor at the University of Chicago who helped develop the university's game studies curriculum. "But difficulty can also open up reflections, frustration or anxiety, interruption, disruption or subversion, right? Difficulty can challenge us to be uncomfortable and see where those precarious feelings will take us."

Bloodborne embraces discomfort from its opening moments, when beginners are greeted by a werewolf devouring a corpse in the middle of a hospital clinic. This enemy will almost immediately kill most players, who have no weapon or any real idea of how to approach combat, resulting in a frustrating

'It draws you in by basically ignoring you, but ignoring you in a respectful way.'

NATHAN WAINSTEIN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
OF ENGLISH

ing reset barely a minute into gameplay.

That kind of disorientation is a hallmark of the FromSoftware experience.

"It's not Breath of the Wild, where everything's explained to you," said Paul Galloway, a curator at the Museum of Modern Art who has been central to the New York institution's efforts to include video games in its permanent collection.

"And don't get me wrong, I absolutely love Breath of the Wild," he continued, referring to the highly praised Legend of Zelda game from 2017. "But I think that kind of ambiguity and lack of definition allows for a richer experience because, like a Modernist novel, you are allowed to interpret and bring your own kind of perspective."

"You just wish you could hit pause," he admitted.

FromSoftware games offer no such reprieve. Even within game menus, enemies can and will attack. For Galloway, the experience is like a return to the frustrations and joys of the coin-operated arcade cabinet.

Beyond gameplay difficulty, Jagoda noted that games like Bloodborne also offer challenges through their opaque storytelling, encouraging "a kind of close reading" that rewards players for mining the game's

environment and items much in the same way that scholars in the humanities scour primary sources.

These games also ask players to grapple with their emotions, which Jagoda said affective difficulty: the frustration of losing to the same enemy 10 times in a row, the anxiety of getting lost or running low on healing items.

"When people call a game artistic, they usually judge it by criteria used by other art forms," Jagoda said. "They might mean that a game is visually stunning or that it's well written. But a game can also be artful because of its mechanics or its rules or its objectives."

While the basic elements of the Soulsborne genre that FromSoftware pioneered have remained intact since Demon's Souls (2009), Wainstein said in an interview that he believed that Bloodborne was "the most undiluted version of the formula."

The game, he said, has a uniquely Modernist bent: fragmented, ambiguous and absorptive. "It draws you in by basically ignoring you, but ignoring you in a respectful way."

Dark Souls (2011) and Elden Ring (2022) are rooted in a hodgepodge of fantasy tropes and feature a wide variety of environments and hundreds of weapons. That is part of their broader appeal.

In Bloodborne, on the other hand, Wainstein sees a spare "Aristotelian unity." It takes place over one night in one city and has a rich, coherent aesthetic that extends from its level design to its limited but highly inventive arsenal of weapons.

If Bloodborne is a pure expression of those ideas, the open-world Elden Ring, which has sold more than 30 million copies, can be viewed as a concession to more popular tastes. The franchise's first multiplayer game, Nightreign, released on Friday, promises to further push that distinctive formula toward systems familiar to even more players, with preset characters and a fast-paced gameplay loop.

Now more than ever, Bloodborne seems to have done something extraordinary for a mass-market entertainment product, hiding the best parts of itself behind challenges that most people cannot or will not overcome.

After that inevitable first death, players awaken again to find a mischievous mentor figure to all the hunters in Yharnam.

"You're sure to be in a fine haze about now," he says, slyly acknowledging the disorientation of those early hours. "But don't think too hard about all this. Just go out and kill a few beasts. It's for your own good."

8 Comics to Read For Pride Month

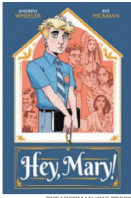
Including fiction, nonfiction and science fiction.

By **GEORGE GENE GUSTINES**

Suburban moms, international locales, caped-and-cowled heroes and villains and a couple of autobiographical tales are all part of the mix in this collection of comic books and graphic novels celebrating L.G.B.T.Q.+ champions. Happy Pride!

Hey, Mary!

A teenage boy, Mark Dudyk, is struggling to reconcile his sexual identity with his Christianity. The story is thoughtful and also takes provocative leaps: Mark envisions conversations with saints whose sexuality was erased in interpretations of the Bible. The soldiers and martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, who are drawn here with the chiseled good looks of runway models, present a simple truth: "There have always been queer people, since before we had the language for it." Written by Andrew Wheeler and drawn by Rye Hickman. (*Oni Press*)



Love Languages

Sarah Huxley and Ping Loh have their meet-cute moment in Paris when Sarah, trying to avoid two aggressive mimes, stumbles on a street and Ping comes to her aid. An unlikely relationship begins, one that has to surmount a language barrier: The women communicate haltingly in English, French and Cantonese. (The word balloons include English translations of what is being spoken.) There is a joyous moment for the women when Sarah finally gets the hang of Cantonese. By James Albon. (*Top Shelf*)



Motherlover

Imogen Dawson, a married mother of four, and Alex Koenig, who is raising her daughter on her own, meet while at elementary school drop-off, and begin a friendship that blossoms into something more. A philandering husband, sibling rivalry and past experiences complicate the lives of the women, and the relatable situations, measured pace and true-to-the-ear dialogue will have readers cheering for them. The story is also available as a webcomic. By Lindsay Ishihiro. (*Iron Circus Comics*)



DC Pride 2025

This anthology unites a colorful array of DC heroes and villains for a visit to an old tavern, the center of queer life in Gotham City, before it shuts down. The catalyst for some mysterious events is the original Green Lantern, a hero introduced in 1940, who still carries a torch for his first love, Johnny Ladd. Also included is a nonfiction work by the comic book writer and editor Jenny Blake, drawn by Sara Soler. Blake came out as transgender on social media earlier this year. "I'm one transition to hurt anyone," Jenny writes. "They do it to heal ... and become their authentic selves." (*DC. Available Wednesday.*)



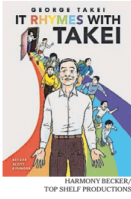
Marvel United: A Pride Special

A mighty assemblage of Marvel champions are featured in this four-story anthology. The most touching vignette spotlights a character who does not wear a costume. It focuses on Archie Roth, a gay childhood friend of Steve Rogers (Captain America), who first appeared in 1982. The story, by Anthony Oliveira and Pablo Collar, pays tribute to their decades-long friendship and military service. (*Marvel Entertainment. Available Wednesday.*)



It Rhymes With Takei

Thanks to "Star Trek" and his political activism, the actor George Takei is known for taking a stand. But this book, about his decision to come out at the age of 68, in 2005, proves there is more to learn about him. His proclaiming his true self is fueled by a desire to help the fight for gay marriage. The graphic novel flashes back to his childhood and his sense of feeling different and follows his path forward. There are rich details and lively moments, but also some painful memories, like a difficult conversation with his unsupportive brother. Written by George Takei, adapted by Steven Scott and Justin Eisinger, and drawn by Harmony Becker. (*Top Shelf. Available June 10.*)



Veronica, No. 202

This reprint comic honors the 15th anniversary of the debut of Kevin Keller, an openly gay character. Kevin proved to be the perfect foil for Veronica Lodge, who finally met a man who had no romantic interest in her. He became a regular part of the Archie gang and the live-action television soap opera "Riverdale." Written and penciled by Dan Parent with inks by Rich Kosloski. (*Archie Comics. Available Wednesday.*)



Young Men in Love: New Romance

This anthology series has 14 stories with love in the air, whether it is between angels, baristas, superheroes or action figures. A couple of standouts: "Boys Will Be Toys," written by Joe Corallo and drawn by Chase Bluestone, about a rag doll and a plastic soldier that find each other despite some obstacles, and "Riding the Spark," by David Booher and Ilias Kyriakis, about a chance meeting on a roller coaster that lasts longer than the ride on its tracks. (*A Wave Blue World. Available June 10.*)



The Seoul Festival in Los Angeles this month is an opportunity to explore the nation's creative output in classical music.

New Generation of South Korean Musicians Rises

By ZACHARY WOOLFE

"Compare Korea to China or Russia," the composer Unsuk Chin said in a recent interview. "If you think how small the country is, it's amazing how many talented musicians are coming out."

South Korean artists are prominent on classical music's most prestigious stages. The young pianists Seong-Jin Cho and Yunchan Lim sell out Carnegie Hall. The conductor Myung-whun Chung was recently named the next music director of the Teatro alla Scala in Milan. Chin's new opera, "The Dark Side of the Moon," premiered in Hamburg, Germany, in May.

Now, to explore South Korea's creative output, the Los Angeles Philharmonic is presenting the Seoul Festival in Los Angeles through June 10.

It is the latest in a series of themed Philharmonic events, including dives into Iceland and Mexico. Around 2018, the orchestra and its artistic leader at the time, Chad Smith, asked Chin to help plan a South Korean iteration, but the plans were derailed by the pandemic. About half of the original programming has made it intact onto this year's concerts.

"I really wanted to present the youngest generation of composers, conductors and musicians," said Chin, 63.

That generation has emerged from what she called "a very long cultural tradition." The country's embrace of Western musical culture began around the turn of the 20th century, and a Western-style compositional tradition took hold with figures like Isang Yun (1917-95), who wrote avant-garde music for Western instruments but with a style that attempted to translate old-school Korean techniques.

"For the younger generation, there are so many different styles," Chin said. "They don't feel close to Korean traditional music any more, and they're much more free than me and the older generations to take on any style of composition."

The Seoul Festival includes two concerts featuring the full Philharmonic, pairing contemporary South Korean pieces with Brahms, a collaboration between Ensemble TIMF — from the Tongyeong International Music Festival, where Chin is artistic director — and the LA Phil New Music Group; and a program of chamber works by Debussy, Schoenberg, Brahms and Schumann, played by rising South Korean musicians.

In the interview, Chin spoke about some of the participating artists, herself included. Here are edited excerpts from the conversation.

Sunghyun Lee and Whan Ri-Ahn

I knew I wanted to commission these young composers, who are both around 30. Both have great careers in Europe at the moment, and both are going back to South Korea for their military service. Sunghyun Lee's style is quite contemporary, but it isn't



The composer Unsuk Chin, top right, who organized the Seoul Festival. Appearing at the event are Whan Ri-Ahn, top; Sunghyun Lee, center; and Immo Yang, above.



JULIE GLASSBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

dogmatic. He has lots of freedom to use any tools, any musical languages. His music is always full of fantasy. Whan Ri-Ahn is currently studying with George Benjamin in London; before that, he also composed in a very contemporary style, but he's learning different musical styles, trying to find his own voice.

Immo Yang

He is one of the best Korean violinists and just made his New York Philharmonic debut this year. I've supported him for several years, and I see a great future for him. His repertoire range is very, very wide, from Bach to contemporary music. And he's a very curious, intellectual person, reading lots of books; his understanding of music is outstanding. I'm very happy to give him the chance for his L.A. Phil debut.

Sun-Young Pahg

"L'Autre Moitié de Silence" is a piece from several years ago for chamber ensemble and the daegum, a large Korean bamboo flute. I liked it; it has a very unique mixture of Western-style instruments and traditional Korean ones. The composer was successful in planting the sound colors — which

are mostly French, somehow — between two cultures and styles. The daegum plays its own melody, and it's quite Korean, but it mixes with the other instruments and creates something new.

Texu Kim

He studied with me in a master class in Korea, and he now teaches in San Diego. We're including a revised version of this viola concerto, "Ko-Oh." There aren't so many viola concertos, and the piece is special because it presents the instrument in a unique light. It's not such radical contemporary music; I think he's been influenced by the American music scene.

Ensemble TIMF

I've been leading the Tongyeong International Music Festival for three years, and this ensemble is based there. It's made up of some of the best young musicians in South Korea, and they can play any kind of music, but it's mostly contemporary repertoire, and the premieres of commissioned pieces. In the festival, they're playing a piece by Dongjin Bae, who has a premiere in the festival. That new piece is for flute and ensemble, and the soloist, Yubeen Kim, just became the principal flute of the San Francisco Symphony. So on this program, with Sun-Young Pahg's "L'Autre Moitié de Silence" for daegum, we'll hear the contrast

between the Western-style and traditional-style flute.

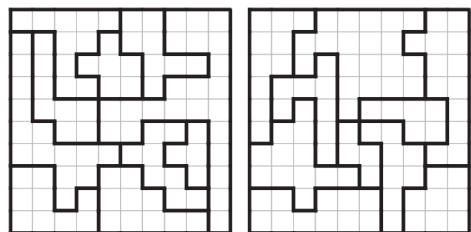
Juri Seo

One of the other pieces that Ensemble TIMF will play is Concertino, by Juri Seo, who teaches at Princeton. She's also a pianist. I don't know her personally, but I've been impressed by her music. The composers in this program are around their 40s. I wanted to showcase the younger generation — or at least the generation younger than me.

Unsuk Chin

In Hong Kong, between the big buildings there are traditional-style shops and restaurants on the street, which reminded me of South Korea in the 1960s and '70s, when I was young. It brought back a memory from my childhood: I was seeing street theater — they weren't professional actors or singers, but they sang and played and acted out small things. I had forgotten it completely, but when I was in Hong Kong it came back to me. So "Gougator" is kind of a street theater piece. The wind players also play percussion instruments, and the violin is detuned; it sounds as if it's playing in the wrong way. The piano is prepared, so it sounds broken. It's not complicated or difficult contemporary music; it's just music for fun.

Two Not Touch



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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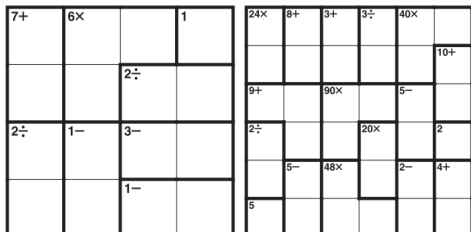
Cryptogram

MEQDJCRNA JBCRNHMRC HC VB REQ RUPZQ VI REQ
QZQDQBRC; EVCOJRUZJRA, VB REQ QZQDQBRC VI REQ RUPZQ.

PUZZLE BY BEN BASS

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER 1. Property; honesty 2. Shoulder; cracker 3. Overdose; diverse

KenKen



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

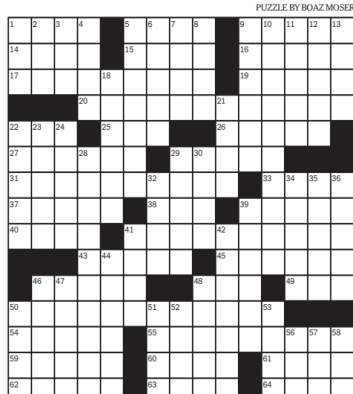
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Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

- ACROSS**
- Angry Birds and Snapchat, for two
 - Session at the pool
 - Cheery goodbyes
 - Gentle
 - Goal of some bodybuilding exercises
 - Delete
 - Place to keep safe during an emergency
 - Tickle
 - Input for a fax machine
 - Hosp. hookups
 - Ref. work with definitions for "colour" and "aluminium"
 - Expensive theater boxes
 - Andy Warhol's "Campbell's Soup Cans," e.g.
 - Each star on the American flag represents one
 - Layer that a hovercraft floats on
 - Sound heard in a stalactite cave
 - Sings nonsense syllables
 - Pointy-eared inhabitant of Middle-earth
 - Mexican marinade
 - Grp. sending radio signals into space
 - Measure of how much sky is visible
 - Alternatives to essays
 - "Wow, cool!"
 - Secondary area of study
 - Modern filmmaking tech, for short
 - Texting format, in brief
 - Easily awakened individual ... whose bed may feature a 20-, 31- and 41-Across?
 - Plastic bit on the end of a shoelace
 - Disappointing awards season outcome for a critically successful movie
 - Beach
 - Villainous hideout
 - Documentation for a foreign traveller
 - Rose
 - Smooth as ...

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

MEH THOSE CACTI
ADO HOPED ORION
SIT EATMYSHORTS
KEBAB SISTA CAT
UDON ABUELA
PUTASOCKINIT
APT SPRIG TACOS
POOF EARLS HAVE
ANNUM FBOMB MAR
SUITYOURSELF
ASCEND GEAR
NOR CLASS WYATT
CLOTHESLINE SHE
HAWKE POLAR HOE
OREOS STONY YUM



6/3/25

- DOWN**
- Word with floor or flight
 - Electric guitar attachment
 - Vegetable often added to fried rice
 - Hits the slopes
 - Mean ... (rough urban area)
 - Sought the favor of
 - How tied games may be settled, informally
 - Office note
 - It may be left holding the bag
 - Site of an apocalyptic final battle in the Bible
 - Brownish shade
 - Stubborn animals
 - Where most songs use their titular lyrics
 - Custardy dessert
 - "No bid"
 - Raise, as a concern
 - Jack who ate no fat
 - Mean ... (rough urban area)
 - Sought the favor of
 - Grain storehouses
 - Vegan protein source
 - "... if I know!"
 - Wanders
 - Skyscraper construction piece
 - Long Beach, Charleston and Baltimore
 - More sore
 - Pixar film that revived the song "Life Is a Highway"
 - Place for boxers to exercise
 - Decomposed
 - Alt-rock band They ... Be Giants
 - Shelter in a chilly landscape
 - "The Ten Commandments" director ... B. DeSilva
 - Lad's counterpart
 - Online chuckles
 - Actor Morales
 - Invitation initialism
 - 60 Zero
 - Country with the most Olympic medals
 - Prohibit

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARYLENE VIGNAURO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Waltzing Across the Universe

Earthlings in Vienna correct a cultural omission: One, two, three. One, two, three.

By VALERIYA SAFRONOVA
VIENNA — What would aliens make of the waltz?

That was the big question here on Saturday evening while the Vienna Symphony Orchestra performed Johann Strauss's world-renowned "Blue Danube" waltz, as a 35-meter antenna in Ceberros, Spain, simultaneously transmitted a recording of it into space.

The Vienna Tourist Board, which organized the event at the Museum of Applied Arts in collaboration with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra and the European Space Agency, said beaming the music into the cosmos was an effort to correct the record, as it were.

In 1977, when the Voyager 1 and 2 spacecraft left the Earth with two copies of the Golden Record, which contains images, sounds and music from Earth, Strauss's "Blue Danube" waltz did not make the cut. This was a mistake, according to Vienna's tourism board, which is celebrating Strauss's 200th birthday this year.

After all, Strauss was the 19th-century equivalent of a pop star. According to Tim Dokter, the director of artistic administration for the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, back then, each composition for the waltz was like a hot new single. "People would wait for it, like, 'Oh, a new waltz dropped today,'" Dokter said. "It was something new to dance to, like a new techno song."

With Voyager 1 already more than 15 billion miles from Earth, the farthest of any object humans have launched into the universe, there's no way to make changes to the Golden Record. Instead, the "Blue Danube" waltz — traveling as an electromagnetic wave at the speed of light — will overtake the spacecraft and continue to soar into deep space.

Will aliens be able to access the recording?



"If aliens have a big antenna, receive the waves, convert them into music, then they could hear it," said Josef Aschbacher, the director general of the European Space Agency.

"Of course, the probability that this will happen is very, very, very low," he added, crushing the hopes of UFOlogists, tinfoil haters and alien enthusiasts the world over.

While the Vienna Symphony Orchestra performed at the Museum of Applied Arts, a video feed of the concert played a short walk away on a jumbo screen at Strandbar Herrmann, a trendy space spread on a bank of the Danube Canal and offering sun umbrellas, tables, a sandy beach with slung canvas chairs and a collection of bars. With temperatures reaching the low 80s, Saturday felt like the official start of summer in Vienna, and the open-air venue was packed.

Among dozens of rows of canvas fold-out chairs, Matej Sirotek, 27, and his girlfriend, Alzbeta Malkova, 26, waited for the show to begin, a bottle of wine in a cooler sleeve stuck in the sand between them. The two had traveled from Prague for the weekend to celebrate Malkova's birthday.

Sirotek wondered how a being that received the music might interpret it. "They could see it as a threat, maybe," he said.

Malkova laughed. "And then tomorrow, there will be an apocalypse or something," she said with a glance at the darkening sky. As the livestream of the concert switched on, the crowd appeared equally split: Half sat hushed, eyes on the screen, while the other half seemed oblivious as they continued chatting, sipping summery cocktails and puffing on vapes. Before playing "The Blue Danube" waltz, the orchestra performed several other space-related compositions, including the fourth movement of Mozart's Symphony No. 41 in C, (K. 551 "Ju-

Top, the Vienna Symphony Orchestra's performance of the "Blue Danube" waltz was livestreamed on Saturday to the Strandbar Herrmann, above, and simultaneously beamed by satellite from Spain to outer space. Matej Sirotek, 27, who shared a bottle of wine with his girlfriend while taking in the performance, said aliens could see the music "as a threat, maybe."

pitier") and Charles Ives's "The Unanswered Question."

Chantal Sturm, 24, sat facing away from the screen with her boyfriend, Fabian Bergman, 27. The two had stumbled in to the event by accident.

"This isn't my type of music," said Sturm, who listens exclusively to techno. "It's a little bit boring."

Bergman was more enthusiastic. "It's very typical Vienna to have some classical music with everything," he said. "I like it a lot. I like the music, and I think it's part of our history. There's a long line of composers who shaped music as it is today."

As sunlight completely faded and a sliver of moon peeked out, a column of light beaming from the Museum of Applied Arts appeared in the night sky. The graffiti decorating the walls of the Danube Canal faded into the shadows and a pleasure boat gliding by twinkled with lights.

At 9:30 p.m., after the countdown clock on the screen hit zero and the orchestra began playing "The Blue Danube" waltz, more and more people crowded around the edges of the rows of chairs to watch. A woman wrapped an arm around her friend, who dabbed at her tears with a tissue. Minutes later, as the music picked up, the two began giggling and spinning each other around in circles. Near them, a young couple placed their plastic cups of alcohol on the ground and began a tipsy attempt at a waltz.

Irene Stockner, 58, stood as close to the screen as possible, enraptured.

"Almost every Austrian knows 'The Blue Danube' waltz," said Stockner, who was born and raised in Vienna. "We grew up with it, with Johann Strauss, and at age 14, we started going to balls and dancing the 'Blue Danube' and other waltzes. Every New Year's Eve, too. There are so many memories."

Her friend, Maja Endres, 62, said that hearing "The Blue Danube" waltz is "like coming home."

On the other side of the beach bar, Anna Drujan, 27, sat with a group of friends. They happened on the show by chance after spending their afternoon hanging out by the Danube River, a few subway stops away.

"For me, it was really surprising and kind of postmodern," said Drujan. "We're listening to classical music, and at the same time sending it into space, and we're sitting here watching it on the screen, and the orchestra is one street away."

Next to her, her friend Jakob Moritz, 26, said he was initially skeptical of the event.

"At first, it felt a bit like marketing and fake," he said. "But with the right amount of Aperol spritz, it was a very pleasant experience. The piece felt very much like swimming or floating into space. I definitely listened to it in a new way."

agreed it was the right time. "There was no convincing or pushback or arguing. We were done. It's OK for things to end."

After more than 1,600 episodes, Maron said, he and McDonald were "tired" and "burnt out." "We are utterly satisfied with the work we've done," he added.

When "WTF With Marc Maron" began in September 2009, podcasting had not yet taken off as a popular platform for comedians, celebrities and thinkers. Over the years, Maron's show evolved into a long-format style that welcomed hundreds of notable names including Carl Burnett, Ariana Grande, David Letterman, Ian McKellen and Demi Moore.

He recorded an episode with Barack



Marc Maron said that he and his partner were "utterly satisfied with the work we've done."

Singing Out For Children Abducted In Ukraine

The Met releases an excerpt from an opera about families separated by war.

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

The Metropolitan Opera typically takes pains to keep developing works under wraps to give artists the space to make changes and take risks.

But "The Mothers of Kherson," an opera recently commissioned by the Met about abducted Ukrainian children and their relatives, is different. The company released an excerpt from the opera on Monday — more than a year before its premiere — hoping it might help revive support for Ukraine in its battle against Russia.

"This is one way of fighting back," said Peter Gelb, the Met's general manager. "We don't want the world to forget what's going on. This is an artistic way of reminding them."

"The Mothers of Kherson," by the Ukrainian composer Maxim Kolomoietz, with a libretto by the American playwright George Brant, tells the story of two mothers in the southern city of Kherson who embark on an arduous, 3,000-mile journey to rescue their daughters, who are being held by Russians at a camp in Crimea.

The characters in the opera are fictional, but the story is based on the accounts of Ukrainian mothers who traveled into Russian-occupied territory, and back again, to recover their children. (In March, the State Department said it would pause funding for the tracking of tens of thousands of Ukrainian children abducted by Russia, under a program run by the Yale School of Public Health Humanitarian Research Lab.)

The Met, which announced plans for the opera in 2023, said on Monday that the work would premiere at Polish National Opera in Warsaw in October 2026 before coming to the Met in the 2027-28 season. The soprano Erin Morley will play one of the mothers, in a production conducted by Kerli-Lynn Wilson and directed by Barbara Wysocka.

"Faith is hard work; it requires constant vigilance," Morley sings in the excerpt released on Monday. "You have to fight to defend it, struggle to replenish it."

Morley said she hoped "The Mothers of Kherson" would help bring attention to the "core unit of the family that is being destroyed by this tragedy."

Adding, "It is, very simply, a documentation of what is happening."

The opera is being developed as the fighting continues and as support for Ukraine wavers among some allies, including the United States. Russia and Ukraine recently exchanged some of the most intense air attacks of the conflict. The two sides are meeting in Istanbul this week for peace talks, though expectations are low.

The creators of the opera worry that more than three years after Russia's invasion, the public is growing numb to Ukraine's plight.

"Everybody should remember that what is happening is not so far away," said Kolomoietz, the composer. "This story is closer than you think."

He added that he wanted to create a work that would go deeper than the headlines.

"With music, I think people can understand it better," he said. "It becomes more concrete, and more human."

"The Mothers of Kherson" is the latest effort by the Met to show support for Ukraine. After Russia's invasion, the Met was one of the first cultural organizations to announce that it would not engage performers or institutions that supported President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

Since then, the Met has helped create the Ukrainian Freedom Orchestra, an ensemble of refugees who fled the war and artists who stayed behind, which has toured internationally. The ensemble is led by Wilson, who is married to Gelb.

The company has also staged concerts in support of Ukraine and hung banners forming the Ukrainian flag across the exterior of the theater.

Marc Maron's Podcast to End After Nearly 16 Years

The comedian has spent more than 1,600 episodes of "WTF" talking with celebrities.

By DERRICK BRYSON TAYLOR

It's nearly the end of a podcasting era. Marc Maron, the host of "WTF" — the popular twice-weekly podcast in which he excavates the nooks and crannies of his guests' psyches — announced on Monday that the show would end this fall after nearly 16 years.

"It was not some kind of difficult decision, necessarily," he said on a new podcast episode, adding that he and his longtime producer partner, Brendan McDonald, had

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY NORIKO HAYASHI

Islands of Art and a Billionaire's Quest

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

Tucked into the woods on Naoshima (which has only about 3,000 residents) is Ando's Chichu Art Museum, which holds five of Claude Monet's "Water Lilies" paintings as well as works by Walter De Maria and James Turrell.

The Benesse program officially began in 1992 with the Benesse House Museum on Naoshima, an Ando-designed hotel-museum filled with name-brand art by the likes of Alberto Giacometti, Robert Rauschenberg and Jean-Michel Basquiat. Yayoi Kusama's much-photographed sculpture of a yellow pumpkin with black polka dots sits on a nearby pier.

The Chinese artist Cai Guo-Qiang — who has a gallery to himself in the new museum — said that Benesse was "a great example of how nature and culture can fuse. The islands themselves are the artwork."

The Naoshima New Museum of Art is the 10th Benesse structure designed by Ando in an unusually long and fertile collaboration between architect and client, the Japanese billionaire Soichiro Fukutake, 79, via the Fukutake Foundation and Benesse Holdings, his family's education and health care services company. (It was recently acquired by EQT AB, a Swedish private equity firm; Fukutake is now an honorary adviser.) The company, with roots back to the 1950s, made its first fortune on publishing



student guides and holding simulated exams.

The museum represents a culmination of sorts for Fukutake's personal involvement. Speaking through a translator on a video call, he called it "the last project that I'll oversee from beginning to end."

The opening presentation, "From the Origin to the Future," features work by a dozen Asian artists and collectives, including the popular Japanese artist Takashi Murakami and Thailand's Pannaphan Yodmanee and Sanitas Pradittasnee.

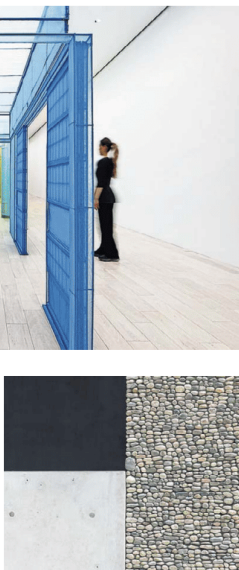
The majority of the works are newly commissioned, and all are now part of Benesse's collection.

Cai's gallery features the large 2006 installation "Head On," with 99 wall sculptures in an arc, hurling themselves at a glass wall.

"Visible walls are easy to dismantle, but invisible ones are difficult to dismantle," Cai, who is based in New York, said of the work. It was originally commissioned by Deutsche Bank and later acquired by Fukutake.

"Mr. Fukutake realized that 'Head On' was not just about Germany, but about humanity," Cai said.

The Korean artist Do Ho Suh — who lives in London and has a survey of his work currently on view at Tate Modern — also has a



dedicated gallery at the Naoshima New Museum.

Fukutake commissioned Suh to make one of his signature room-sized fabric works, which became the 16-foot-long installation "Hub, 759 Naoshima-cho, Kagawa-gun, Kagawa, Japan" (2025). Suh visited four homes on Naoshima and chose to replicate the dimensions of a narrow corridor in one house.

"I needed to get to know people and spend some time in the spaces," Suh said. "They really welcomed me and unpacked their personal stories of living in the homes."

As a collector, Fukutake has always fol-



Top, a view from a ferry of the grounds at the Naoshima New Museum of Art, with a sculpture by Yayoi Kusama. Center, the inaugural exhibition, "From the Origin to the Future." Above center left, a gallery for the Korean artist Do Ho Suh. Above center right, a museum interior. Above left, a museum exterior wall of black plaster and pebbles.

lowed his instinct about artists in a big way; a fan of Lee Ufan's art, he established the Lee Ufan Museum, in another Ando building, in 2010.

Cai recalled that Fukutake once gave him a Le Corbusier-designed table as a gift and told him, "You can keep working at this table. You have grown so much."

Having decided to hand the reins to his son, Hideaki, 48, Fukutake reflected on the more than 30-year project.

"I wanted to create a kind of utopia in this world, one where people could genuinely find happiness through contemporary art," he said of Benesse, which began with a conversation that his father, Tetsuhiko, had

with Naoshima's mayor, in the 1980s, about ways to improve the island, which had been scarred by industrial waste and pollution. The name Benesse is a version of the Latin words for well ("bene") and being ("esse").

Visits to the Dia Art Foundation, particularly Dia Beacon, and to the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, outside Copenhagen, informed Fukutake's vision, he said.

The Fukutake family is originally from Okayama, the nearest large mainland city. Fukutake moved to the Auckland, New Zealand, area in 2009 to avoid Japan's earthquakes and its taxes.

"Under Japan's tax system, it would be nearly impossible to sustain the activities on Naoshima for the next 200 to 300 years," he said.

Asked how much he had spent on the entire Benesse project, Fukutake replied, "It's equivalent to just one or two moderately tall buildings in central Tokyo, which is not a big deal at all."

He added, "When we started collecting contemporary art, it was still inexpensive — it hadn't yet become a target for investment. And land on Naoshima was unbelievably cheap back then."

He estimated his costs for building the museums, including art, at 20 to 30 billion yen (around \$200 million), and added that the current value would be closer to the equivalent of half a billion dollars.

Despite moving from Japan, Fukutake has been directing his art collecting and philanthropy more and more toward Asia, and the Naoshima New Museum of Art is part of that shift. In 2010 he established the popular Setouchi Triennale on the Benesse islands.

The Naoshima New Museum will slowly rotate some exhibitions, in contrast to its permanent installations.

"We had to think of the repeaters now — people who like the Benesse Art Site Naoshima, and want to come back once a year," said Akiko Miki, the new museum's director and international artistic director of Benesse.

Ando, based in Osaka, has employed the austere-but-rich concrete that made him famous, shot through with dramatic openings for sunlight to pour in, and the twists in the design all have a specific purpose.

"On the entrance-facing side, we used black plaster as a subtle reference to the local tradition of charred cedar facades (yakisugi), which give many homes in the area their deep black tone," Ando said in an email.

Explaining the boundary wall along a walkway leading up to the entrance, with a rough, pebbly surface, Ando, 83, said its texture and presence was inspired by "a modest example I had long admired elsewhere on the island."

He added, "This project offered the opportunity to borrow from that quiet vernacular and weave it into the language of the new museum."

Ando said that the decades-long collaboration was a surprise to him. "Looking back, what I find most fascinating is that these 10 buildings were not developed through any preconceived master plan," he said.

"Rather, they emerged organically, growing and multiplying like living organisms."

Picking Ando to design a large portion of his passion project was simple, Fukutake said.

"In overly decorative architecture, art loses its vitality," he said. "Mr. Ando's architecture is different — it doesn't overwhelm the art."

As for wrapping up his Benesse involvement, Fukutake sounded matter-of-fact. "I've been fortunate to do what I love and pursue meaningful work," he said. "I feel fulfilled — there's nothing I regret or leave unfinished in life."

He added, "Now, I just hope I can pass away peacefully when the time comes."

This Star Only Looks Like a Nihilist

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
founders, as they swipe past scenes of chaos.

In person, Smith, 38, was not quite so nihilistic, though he had dressed the part, a man in black on black on black — pants, coat, shirt, tie, shoes. Offscreen, Smith is abidingly polite, with a wide smile that narrows his eyes to slits.

He lives in the West Village, though increasingly work keeps him away. He had flown in for the premiere and soon he would fly out again, to Alaska where he is shooting a film that he was forbidden to discuss. Smith (“Gotham,” “Carol,” “May December”) is suddenly so in demand that he had to miss Cannes, at which “Sentimental Value,” a movie in which he co-stars, was awarded the Grand Prix.

Before the plane, he wanted to hit up a few of the neighborhood pizza spots. This wasn’t hangover relief (Smith had stayed sober during the work event), but he’d been up late and pizza — as any New Yorker knows, even an Ohio transplant like Smith — is a restorative. “It’s our best food,” he said.

Smith grew up near Columbus and began acting in childhood, when a teacher told his parents that he should audition for amateur theater. Later he studied musical theater at Otterbein University, a nearby school that offered him a scholarship. A few times he considered changing his major. He was interested in psychology and philosophy; he thought he might go pre-law. But then he’d have an epiphany in class or in rehearsal. He stayed the course.

“I became addicted,” is how he put it.

Friday’s pizza crawl started out at Joe’s, a neighborhood staple on Carmine Street. Smith blotted the slice with several napkins. “As long as my skin is part of the job, I blot,” he said. “Joe’s is particularly greasy.” Smith took a few bites, then gave up. “I want a pepperoni that when it feels the heat, it comes alive,” he said. This was not that. Smith went on to the next place, chatting about his early career on the way.

Right out of school, he was hired for a job in regional theater, which gave him his Equity card. But further jobs were few, so he spent several years working mostly as a nanny. (He and other actor friends formed a babysitters club.)

In 2013, after a few stage successes, he was hired to star in a Broadway production of “Breakfast at Tiffany’s.” The show was a disappointment, critically, commercially and personally, but Smith was on his way. He was cast in the Batman origin show “Gotham,” in the mini-series “Olive Kitteridge” and in Todd Haynes’s “Carol.” His first feature, “Camp X-Ray,” opposite Kristen Stewart, was released in 2014.

Already, Smith, who has angular features that can skew handsome (as a smarmy Chevy Chase in the recent “Saturday Night”) or geeky (as the Riddler in “Gotham”), was developing a type: a weirdo, a sicko, a man who walks on the shady side of intense. Smith doesn’t know exactly where this comes from, but he has some road-guesses. He grew up in a relatively strict Catholic household, which limited his self-expression.



SABRINA SANTIAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“It was a very tight life, and I had a lot of expression inside of me,” he said. That gives him an edge when it comes to secretive characters, alienated characters, characters who don’t quite know how to behave.

He likes this. “There’s a larger menu of behavioral options, a Greek diner menu,” he said. “You can do whatever you want. It’s just fun.”

Smith had arrived at the second spot, Bleeker Street Pizza. The toppings were piled more heavily here and some of the slices square cut, which reminded him of the Midwestern pizzerias of his youth. “Everything here is decadent,” he said approvingly. The slice could have been saucier, but like Smith, it had plenty of personality. And it was notably less greasy.

“The crust has a stronger bite,” he said. After a few more nibbles, he was ready to head to L’Industrie, the see-and-be-seen pizzeria of the moment.

As always, there was a long line outside the Christopher Street location, and Smith’s fame has not yet reached the line-jumping level.

“That may change, at least a bit, after ‘Mountainhead,’” arguably Smith’s most prominent showcase to date. His Venis is



MACALL POLAR/APPLE+, VIA IFO

the richest man in the world, an avatar of entitlement in a zip-up sweater who is happy enough to let the world burn as long as his stock price keeps climbing.

Is he a sociopath? Well, Smith is reluctant to diagnose anyone, though he did mention narcissism and the possibility of borderline personality disorder. Certainly, Venis is one

Top, Cory Michael Smith satisfies a pizza craving. Above, from left: Ramy Youssef, Smith, Steve Carell and Jason Schwartzman in “Mountainhead.”

more character who doesn’t know how to behave. Venis rolls a melon down a bowling lane. He fights a pine tree. (“I lost,” Smith confirmed.) Venis says things like, “I just want to get us transhuman!”

Smith enjoyed the arrogance, the hubris, though the shoot, he will admit, was exhausting. Still, the cast was unimprovable. (His colleagues were “wild and generous, kind and lovely,” he said.) And though Armstrong was a first-time director, Smith felt that he was in excellent, occasionally profane hands. “It just was actually the dreamiest experience,” he said.

The line had finally advanced. Smith had to leave for his flight soon, but he put in an order for a third pepperoni slice. While he waited, he speculated about what he might like to do next.

“I haven’t played a lot of romantic leads,” he said. “I’d like to welcome some love into my life. Into my personal life and my professional life.”

Then he posed for a selfie with a “Gotham” fan who was also from Ohio. Smith checked the time on his phone and checked again. He had to get back to Alaska, without his slice.

“It’s a wonderful problem,” he said as he left.



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

You Can Clearly Feel Her Authority Onstage

Natalie Venetia Belcon, above, as the Cuban singer Omara Portuondo, with members of the onstage band, in “Buena Vista Social Club,” at the Gerald Schoenfeld Theater, Right, in Greenwich Village.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

Belcon insists that in her downtime, off-stage, away from journalists, she is an everyday sort of woman who prefers oversize T-shirts and yoga pants. She loves to put on her bunny slippers and watch the Ultimate Fighting Championship.

“I know I’m intimidating, but once somebody starts to speak to me, they realize, ‘Oh, she’s actually kind of cool,’” she said. “Belen was born in Trinidad. She began traveling to the United States as a child and by junior high, she and her parents and grandparents were sharing a multifamily home in the South Bronx. She became a citizen as a teenager. Her parents are musicians. Singing and dancing were a given. Though she dabbled in science, she applied and was accepted to the High School of Performing Arts. “It was the best time,” she said, “a party.”

From there, she went to Carnegie Mellon, which was less of a party. The training was excellent, but she found some of the teachers insensitive, even bullying. “Neither one of my parents raised a shrinking violet,” she said. “When some of these tactics were pulled that made others shrink, it made me want to fight back.” Still, she described herself as one of the lucky ones, a darling of the department.

After graduation she shot an episode of “The Cosby Show,” then returned to the East Coast, understanding Karen Mason in a Kander and Ebb revue, and later booking a national tour of “Once on This Island.” That tour ended in Los Angeles and Belcon



AMIR HAMZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

‘I know I’m intimidating, but once somebody starts to speak to me, they realize, ‘Oh, she’s actually kind of cool.’”

NATALIE VENETIA BELCON
OF ‘BUENA VISTA SOCIAL CLUB’

stayed, finding guest roles on popular sitcoms and dramas of the early 1990s (“Melrose Place,” “The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air”). She was doing well, but the sameness of the roles began to bore her.

“I was the pretty, exotic girl, very elitist and rich, always breaking somebody’s heart,” she said. “I had a great time. But I’ve always considered myself a character actor. I like doing something other than what I am. That’s where the fun stuff is.”

So she came back to New York, where she has worked consistently over the last few decades, though rarely with much fanfare. She has made it to Broadway several times, including as a replacement Joanne in

“Rent.” Most notably she originated the role of Gary Coleman, a comedic version of the child star, in the 2003 puppet musical “Avenue Q.” But stardom has always been just out of reach. There were parts she didn’t get and parts she did, though these were in regional and Off Broadway shows that closed without transferring.

“It wasn’t meant to be,” she said.

In 2023, she received the call about “Buena Vista Social Club” while touring with “Wicked.” She knew the double platinum album that the show in part derives from and had seen the documentary. But she wasn’t right for it, she told her agent, mostly because she grew up speaking English, not Spanish, which would make singing the Spanish-language songs a challenge. But she was told that speaking Spanish was not a must. She auditioned with the bolero “Dos Gardénias” and was soon cast.

Before the show’s 2023 Off Broadway debut, at Atlantic Theater Company, she worked hard to master the accent, particularly the vowel placement. She listened to the music, watched videos, consulted the Cubans in her life. “I prayed to the gods every second of the day,” she said. She is still

praying. Even now, before she goes onstage she says to herself, “Spirit, be with me.” So far the spirits have been kind.

Because the story at the heart of the show is largely fictional, Belcon didn’t feel particular pressure to embody the real Portuondo. Still, she relied on the band members, some of whom had worked with Portuondo, to help her convey her essence, her aura, her carriage.

“She doesn’t need to do much to grab your attention,” Belcon said. “It’s just a small little turn of the head, and she just has you.” Belcon was moved when Portuondo, now 94, visited the theater on opening night and later came onstage for a curtain call.

Some performers tend to minimize awards or riff on the “it’s an honor just to be nominated” idea. But Belcon has worked too long and too hard to take that tack. Which is to say she won’t be wearing bunny slippers. What does she want on Tonys night?

“For my name to be called,” she said regally. “I didn’t do all this for nothing. No, I want it. And I have to say, I think I deserve it for this one. That would not be a mistake to call my name.”



CAROLYN FONG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Anorexia's Persistent Grip

By ABBY ELLIN

Sally Odenheimer starved herself because she was an athlete and thought she would run faster on an empty stomach.

Karla Wagner starved herself because she wanted to be in charge of at least one aspect of her life.

Janice Bremis simply felt too fat.

They all sought perfection and control. Not eating helped.

They are women in their 60s and 70s who have struggled with anorexia nervosa since

A growing number of older women are seeking treatment for eating disorders. Many have struggled without help for decades.

childhood or adolescence. Years later, their lives are still governed by calories consumed, miles run, laps swum, pounds lost.

"It's an addiction I can't get rid of," said Ms. Odenheimer, 73, a retired teacher who lives outside Denver.

For decades, few people connected eating disorders with older people; they were seen as an affliction of teenage girls and young women. But research suggests that an increasing number of older women have been seeking treatment for eating disorders, including bulimia, binge eating disorder and

anorexia, which has the highest mortality rate of any psychiatric disorder, and brings with it an elevated risk of suicide.

In a 2017 paper in the journal BMC Medicine, researchers reported that more than 15 percent of 5,658 women surveyed met the criteria for a lifetime eating disorder while in their 30s and 40s. A 2023 review of recent research reported that the prevalence rates among women 40 and older with full diagnoses of eating disorders were between 2.1 and 7.7 percent. (For men, CONTINUED ON PAGE D5

Above, Janice Bremis, 69, adheres to a rigid eating schedule. "I still think constantly about losing weight and the feeling that comes with it," she said.

Another Potential Threat to American Bats

Scientists discover a second fungus in Europe and Asia that also causes white-nose disease.

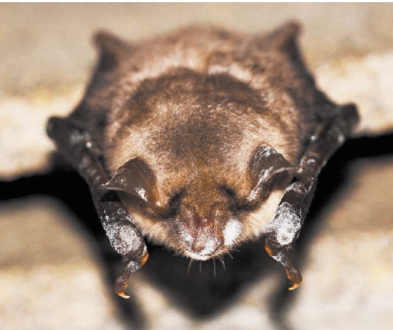
By CARL ZIMMER

In the winter of 2006, biologists in New York State got a gruesome surprise. As they surveyed colonies of hibernating bats, they discovered heaps of dead animals on the floors of caves and abandoned mines.

The culprit was a fungus new to science. It caused white-nose disease, named for the fuzzy pale tendrils that sprouted from the nostrils of its victims. (The disease was originally known as white-nose syndrome, but was renamed in recent years.) The fungus, *Pseudogymnoascus destructans*, or P. destructans, has spread from New York to 40 states and nine Canadian provinces.

"This is the most dramatic wildlife mortality event that's ever been documented from a pathogen," said DeeAnn Reeder, a disease ecologist at Bucknell University. "Millions and millions and millions of animals have died."

In recent years, bat experts have gained some guarded optimism. They have found ways to protect bats from white-nose disease and to help infected animals survive.



SÉBASTIEN PUECHMAILLE

But a new study published last week raised the possibility that North American bats could get slammed by a second wave of white-nose disease.

An extensive genetic survey has found

A greater mouse-eared bat infected with white-nose disease hibernating in Greifswald, Germany.

that *Pseudogymnoascus destructans* is actually two species native to Europe and Asia. Only one has reached North America. If the second one is introduced to the continent, it could start another devastating epidemic.

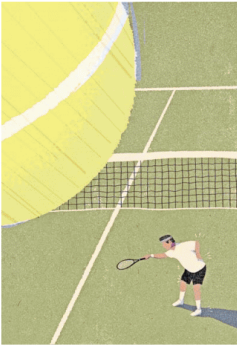
"It's like a reboot," said Dr. Reeder, who was not involved in the study. "I think it's terrifying, honestly."

The leader of the new study, Sébastien Puechmaile of the University of Montpellier, was still a graduate student studying bat conservation 17 years ago when his American colleagues at scientific conferences told him about a new plague.

"We'd be talking, and then they said, 'Yeah, we have these bats that are dying with something growing on them, possibly a fungus,'" Dr. Puechmaile recalled.

Dr. Puechmaile and his European colleagues knew that European bats sometimes grew fuzzy white patches on their noses, too. But their infections weren't lethal, so researchers paid little attention to them. "And then, very quickly, we found out that it was similar to what was found in North America," Dr. Puechmaile said.

That discovery led Dr. Puechmaile to dedicate his career to understanding the new fungus. He helped chart its range CONTINUED ON PAGE D5



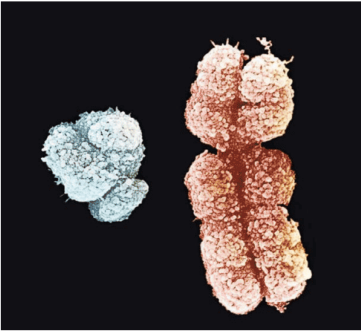
LEHEL ROVACS

Safely Returning To the Court

As the weather warms and racket sports beckon, there are ways to avoid injuries. Page 7.

Observatory

FINDINGS, EVENTS AND MORE



BIOPHOTO ASSOCIATES/SCIENCE SOURCE

HIGH DATA

Why Are Men Taller? Here's a Short Answer.

Men are taller than women, by an average of about five inches. But why? A new study suggests it partly involves a gene called SHOX, known to be linked to height. SHOX is present on both the X chromosome — females have two X chromosomes — and the Y chromosome; males have one X and one Y. A research team suspected SHOX could explain differences in height by having a different effect on the X and Y chromosomes (shown above).

To investigate, researchers asked if an extra Y chromosome boosted height more than an extra X chromosome. Studying genetic databases, the group found 1,225 people with either missing or extra X or Y chromosomes. And an extra Y did give more height than an extra X.

The placement of the SHOX gene is near the end of the sex chromosomes. In females, most genes on one of the two Xs are inactive. But one region where the genes remain active is at the tip of the X. The SHOX gene is close enough to the tip that it is not quite silenced. In men, the X, with its SHOX, is fully active. So is the Y. This means that a woman, with two X chromosomes, will have a slightly lower dose of the SHOX gene than a man, with an X and a Y. The SHOX effect may account for nearly a quarter of the average difference in height. Other features of male sex hormones cause most of the rest of the difference. *GINA KOLATA*



LUC CNAGO/REUTERS

FELINE SENSES

Smell Test Detects More Than a Whiff of Indifference

Cats tend to have their own ideas about what they should be doing, which may or may not align with the wishes of their owners. But in a study published in the journal PLOS One, a team led by Hidehiko Uchiyama, a professor of animal science in Tokyo, established that cats respond differently to the scents of their owners than to the odors of strangers. That suggests your cat knows what you smell like, in addition to what you look and sound like.

The researchers recruited 30 cats and their owners to participate in the study. The cats' owners captured their own scents by rubbing cotton swabs behind their ears, between their toes and under their armpits. Eight more people who don't own pets and didn't know the cats' owners were recruited to be "odor donors."

Each of the study cats, in the comfort of its own home, was then

presented with an array of test tubes containing the smelly cotton swabs from its owner, a stranger and a blank control. A camera recorded the cats' reactions to the test tubes. The cats spent more time sniffing the samples from the strangers than from their owners — an indication that the cats could recognize their owners' scents and devoted more time to exploring ones they'd never smelled before.

The team also analyzed videos of the cats sniffing the test tubes and observed the cats predominantly using their right nostrils to smell the strangers' test tubes. These findings seemed to corroborate previous studies of other animals, including dogs, which also led with their right nostrils when exploring strange scents.

KATE GOLEMBIEWSKI



JEAN CARLOS SANTOS

HUNKERING DOWN

Even Fire Couldn't Evict The Weevil From Its Home

Living things have long needed to find ways to survive wildfires. Some of them, researchers recently discovered, can even build their own flameproof panic rooms.

Galls are outgrowths induced on plants by other organisms. In some instances, they form when parasitic insects like midges, moths and wasps release substances that prompt the plant to produce more cells. Galls shelter the larvae of the insects that made them grow, and they protect newborns from predators, parasitoids and adverse weather conditions. It turns out that this perfect nursery can also protect some insect larvae from the flames and heat of wildfires.

The discovery, announced in the journal Ecology, came from Jean Carlos Santos, an ecologist in Brazil, who was working in Minas Gerais, a state in the Cerrado, a region of savannas in the heart of the country. At that time, in 2012, "a massive fire erupted in the area.

While walking through the area devastated by the flames, he cut open the galls of *Solanum lycocarpum*, a common plant living in the Cerrado that is also known as wolf's fruit. These galls were made by females of the Boheman weevil, which lay their eggs on the wolf fruit's shoots, inducing thick, multichambered galls (shown at left) that host many larvae.

To his surprise, weevil larvae were still hanging on inside. "This was both fantastic and intriguing!" Dr. Santos wrote in an email.

Dr. Santos came back to the area a few days later with his students. They collected dozens of galls from 40 wolf fruits; some had been exposed to the fire and some had not. Back in the lab, the team cut the galls open and checked whether the weevil larvae and pupae survived.

The galls were at a height on the plants where they "were clearly exposed to extreme heat from the fire. All the galls in the burned areas bore signs of charring," Dr. Santos said. "Initially, we assumed that no insects could have survived within the galls."

Despite that, the survival rate of larvae sheltering in burned galls was about 66 percent. Inside 20 galls, all larvae survived; in 23, only some came out alive; while in nine galls all weevils succumbed to the flames. *GENNARO TOMMA*

'The H.I.V. pandemic will never be ended without a vaccine, so killing research on one will end up killing people.'

John Moore, an H.I.V. researcher in New York, commenting on the Trump administration's decision to end a program some deemed critical to the search for a vaccine.

OUT THERE | DENNIS OVERBYE

Scientific Dreams Lie in the Balance

Cutbacks to the federal budget may threaten breakthroughs in astronomical research.

ONE OF THE JOYS of science journalism is in seeing dreams come true — watching scientists push their career chips across the table, on behalf of a vision or a mission that will take years to achieve, and finally win. Their stories are sagas of passion, curiosity and sacrifice.

William Borucki, a space scientist who didn't have a Ph.D., and his collaborator, David Koch, spent 20 years trying to convince NASA that a space telescope could find planets by detecting their shadows on other stars. NASA rejected their proposal five times until ultimately relenting. "It's a wonderful thing to have someone tell you over and over again everything that is wrong with your experiment," Mr. Borucki once said.

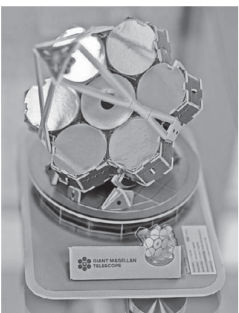
He changed the galaxy: The Kepler satellite, launched in 2009, discovered more than 4,000 exoplanets in a small patch of the Milky Way, suggesting that there were as many as 40 billion potentially habitable planets in the Milky Way alone.

Scientists involved in the effort to detect the space-time ripples known as gravitational waves tell a similar story. In the 1970s and '80s, when Rainer Weiss, a physicist at M.I.T., and Kip Thorne of Caltech started talking to the National Science Foundation about the possibility of observing these waves, "everybody thought we were out of our minds," Dr. Weiss once said.

A billion dollars and four decades later, the twin antennas of their detector, the Laser Interferometer Gravitational-Wave Observatory, recorded the collision of two distant, gigantic black holes. Hundreds of such collisions have been recorded since, allowing astronomers to eavesdrop on an invisible part of the universe.

Now it's fair to wonder if such stories are still possible. President Trump's proposed budget for 2026 includes a 56 percent cut to the National Science Foundation and 24 percent less for NASA, mostly taken out of space science — the endeavor that produced the Voyager and Viking spacecrafts and the Hubble and James Webb Space Telescopes.

The Trump administration has said that such drastic cutbacks are needed to curb government spending and to align the science agencies' priorities with the president's. Almost certain to be cut is the mission to send rovers from Mars to examine them for hints of past or present life. This was to be the latest stage of a half-century-



long international effort — a masterpiece of sustained collaboration — to explore and examine our sister planet. In 2023, a NASA review found that the project was in trouble, overdue and over budget; the agency appealed for new ideas, apparently in vain.

Rumors are swirling in space and astronomical circles about what other cuts will be proposed when the administration releases a more detailed budget this year. Will the Hubble Space Telescope survive? Or the completed Nancy Grace Roman Space Telescope, scheduled for launch in the next year or two to investigate the dark energy that seems to be blowing the cosmos apart? The result from that mission might reveal the fate of the universe.

And what of the Giant Magellan Telescope at Las Campanas in Chile and the Thirty Meter Telescope, possibly destined for Mauna Kea on the Big Island of Hawaii? Both are being developed by international consortiums anchored by American institutions located a few miles apart in Pasadena, Calif. They would be larger and more powerful than any telescope currently on Earth or in space. With primary mirrors 25 meters and 30 meters in diameter, they will be able to image planets around other stars and dissect the activities of black holes in the hearts of quasars. They would guarantee American astronomers access to both telescopes and the deeper skies they could survey.

Each of the extremely big American telescopes is now expected to cost \$3 billion or more, and neither group has yet raised half that amount. In 2020, after years of competing for resources and collaborators, the two



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAPTAIN OTHARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



PAUL E. ALBERS/NASA

William Borucki, gesturing above, at a 2009 NASA news conference in Washington about observations coming from the Kepler satellite. Top from left: a model of the Giant Magellan Telescope at the University of Arizona; and glass being produced there last year.

groups joined forces to ask the National Science Foundation, the traditional source of funding for American astronomy, for \$1.6 billion to take up the slack for both telescopes.

But \$1.6 billion doesn't buy as much as it used to. Last year, the National Science Board, which advises the N.S.F., declared that the foundation should build only one extremely large telescope and left it to the director, Sethuraman Panchanathan, to figure out how to decide which one to support.

Dr. Panchanathan deferred to an outside expert panel, which reported back that building even one of the telescopes would strain the agency's resources. One unspoken implication was that it was time for the

N.S.F. to step up and ask for more money from the federal government.

The president's new budget, in contrast, would slash the foundation's budget by 55 percent. Dr. Panchanathan resigned shortly before its release in April.

As astronomers keep reminding us, nothing is set in stone. "This is a marathon, not a sprint," Robert Kirschner, the director of the T.M.T. project, has said of the telescope quest. Reached recently during a lobbying visit to Washington, he added that the endeavor was "more like a steep climb — hurdles and hazards on every lap."

And with competitors at every step, The European Southern Observatory, a consortium based in Munich, is building an even larger telescope, 39 meters in diameter, in Chile. China, once a member of the T.M.T. collaboration, is now exploring building its own extremely large telescope, 14.5 meters in diameter, on the Tibetan plateau. It would be the biggest telescope in the Northern Hemisphere, making the American-led Extremely Large Telescope program even more urgent.

"If we do nothing, Europe will lead in the South and China in the North," Dr. Kirschner said. "We have led astronomy and astrophysics for 100 years to very good effect. This is not the moment to lose U.S. leadership."

The final battle will be fought in Congress. There the budget will be hashed out and the fate of scientific dreams decided. "The universe is made of stories, not of atoms," the American poet Muriel Rukeyser once wrote. Are we in danger of running out of stories?

THE NEW OLD AGE | PAULA SPAN

Health Risks From Cannabis May Rise for Seniors

Research reveals higher use by adults over 65 and more associated visits for acute care.

DR. BENJAMIN HAN, a geriatrician and addiction medicine specialist at the University of California, San Diego, tells his students a cautionary tale about a 76-year-old patient who, like many older people, struggled with insomnia.

"She had problems falling asleep, and she'd wake up in the middle of the night," he said. "So her daughter brought her some sleep gummies" — edible cannabis candies.

"She tried a gummy after dinner and waited half an hour," Dr. Han said.

Feeling no effects, she took another gummy, then one more — a total of four over several hours.

Dr. Han advises patients who are trying cannabis to "start low; go slow," beginning with products that contain just 1 or 2.5 milligrams of tetrahydrocannabinol, or THC, the psychoactive ingredient that many cannabis products contain. Each of the four gummies this patient took, however, contained 10 milligrams.

The woman started feeling intense anxiety and experiencing heart palpitations. A young person might have shrugged off such symptoms, but this patient had hypertension and the heart arrhythmia called atrial fibrillation. Frightened, she went to an emergency room.

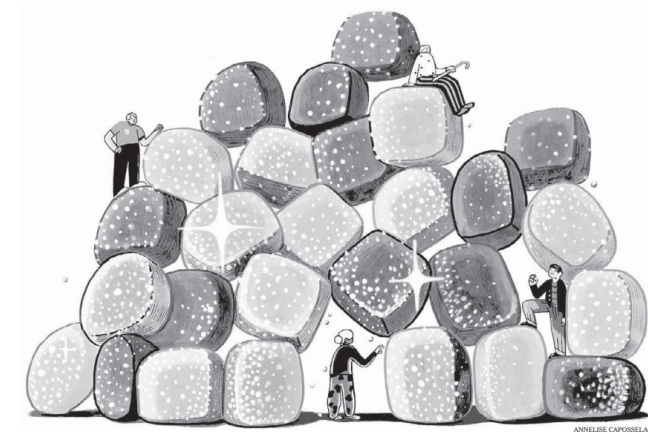
Lab tests and a cardiac work-up determined that the woman wasn't having a heart attack, and the staff sent her home. Her only lingering symptom was embarrassment, Dr. Han said. But what if she'd grown dizzy or lightheaded and was hurt in a fall? He said he has had patients injured in falls or while driving after using cannabis. What if the cannabis had interacted with the prescription drugs she took?

"As a geriatrician, it gives me pause," Dr. Han said. "Our brains are more sensitive to psychoactive substances as we age."

Thirty-nine states and the District of Columbia allow cannabis use for medical reasons, and in 24 of those, as well as Washington, recreational use is also legal. As older adults use climbs, "the benefits are still unclear," Dr. Han said. "But we're seeing more evidence of potential harms."

Recent research points to reasons for concern for older users, with cannabis-related emergency room visits and hospitalizations rising, and a Canadian study finding an association between such acute care and subsequent dementia. Older people are more apt to try cannabis for therapeutic reasons — to relieve chronic insomnia or mental health issues — though evidence of its effectiveness in addressing those conditions remains thin, experts said.

In an analysis of national survey data published on Monday in the medical journal JAMA, Dr. Han and his colleagues reported that "current" cannabis use (use within the



A San Diego geriatrician advises his patients trying cannabis to 'start low; go slow.'

The New Old Age is produced through a partnership with KFF Health News.

previous 30 days) had jumped among adults over 65, to 7 percent of respondents in 2023 from 4.8 percent in 2021. In 2005, fewer than 1 percent of older adults reported using cannabis in the previous year.

What's driving the increase? Experts cite the steady march of state legalization — use by older people is highest in those states — while surveys show that the perceived risk of cannabis use has declined. One national survey found that a growing proportion of American adults — 44 percent in 2021 — erroneously thought it safer to smoke cannabis daily than cigarettes. The authors of the study, in JAMA Network Open, noted that "these views do not reflect the existing science on cannabis and tobacco smoke."

The cannabis industry also markets its products to older adults. The Trulieve chain gives a 10 percent discount, both in stores and online, to "wisdom customers" over 55. RISE Dispensaries ran a yearlong "cannabis education and empowerment" program for two senior centers in Paterson, N.J., including field trips to its dispensary.

The industry has many satisfied older customers. Liz Logan, 67, a freelance writer in Bronxville, N.Y., had grappled with sleep problems and anxiety for years, but the conditions grew particularly debilitating two years ago, as her husband was dying of Parkinson's disease. "I'd frequently be awake until 5 or 6 in the morning," she said. "It makes you crazy."

Looking online for edible cannabis products, Ms. Logan found that gummies con-

taining cannabidiol, known as CBD, alone didn't help, but those with 10 milligrams of THC did the trick without noticeable side effects. "I don't worry about sleep anymore," she said. "I've solved a lifelong problem."

But studies in the United States and Canada, which legalized nonmedical cannabis nationally in 2018, show climbing rates of cannabis-related health care use among older people, both in outpatient settings and in hospitals.

In California, cannabis-related emergency room visits by those over 65 rose, to about 395 per 100,000 visits in 2019, from 21 in 2005. In Ontario, Canada, acute care (emergency visits or hospital admissions) resulting from cannabis use increased fivefold in middle-aged adults between 2008 and 2021, and more than 26-fold among those over 65.

"It's not reflective of everyone who's using cannabis," cautioned Dr. Daniel Myran, an investigator at the Bruyère Health Research Institute in Ottawa and lead author of the Ontario study. "It's capturing people with more severe patterns."

But since other studies have shown increased cardiac risk among some cannabis users with heart disease or diabetes, "there's a number of warning signals," he said.

For example, a disturbing proportion of older veterans who currently use cannabis screen positive for cannabis use disorder, a recent JAMA Open study found.

As with other substance-abuse disorders,

such patients "can tolerate high amounts," said the lead author, Vira Pravosud, a cannabis researcher at the Northern California Institute for Research and Education. "They continue using even if it interferes with their social or work or family obligations" and may experience withdrawal if they stop.

Among 4,500 older veterans (average age: 73) seeking care at V.A. health facilities, researchers found that more than 10 percent had reported cannabis use within 30 days. Of those, 36 percent fit the criteria for mild, moderate or severe cannabis use disorder, as established in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.

V.A. patients differ from the general population, Dr. Pravosud noted. They are much more likely to report substance abuse and have "higher rates of chronic diseases and disabilities, and mental health conditions like PTSD" that could lead to self-medication, she said.

Department of Veterans Affairs policies do not require clinicians to ask patients about cannabis use. Dr. Pravosud thinks they should.

Moreover, "there's increasing evidence of a potential effect on memory and cognition," said Dr. Myran, citing his team's study of Ontario patients with cannabis-related conditions going to emergency departments or being admitted to hospitals.

It showed that compared with others of the same age and sex seeking care for other reasons, these patients (ages 45 to 105) had 1.5 times the risk of a dementia diagnosis within five years, and 3.9 times the risk for the general population.

Even after adjusting for chronic health conditions and sociodemographic factors, those seeking acute care resulting from cannabis use had a 23 percent higher dementia risk than patients with non-cannabis-related ailments, and a 72 percent higher risk than the general population.

None of these studies were randomized clinical trials; they were observational and could not ascertain causality. Some cannabis research doesn't specify whether users are smoking, vaping, ingesting or rubbing in topical cannabis; other studies lack relevant demographic information.

"It's very frustrating that we're not able to provide more individual guidance on safer modes of consumption, and on amounts of use that seem lower risk," Dr. Myran said. "It just highlights that the rapid expansion of regular cannabis in North America is outpacing our knowledge."

Still, given the health vulnerabilities of older people, and the far greater potency of current cannabis products compared with the weed of their youth, he and other researchers urge caution.

"If you view cannabis as a medicine, you should be open to the idea that there are groups who probably shouldn't use it and that there are potential adverse effects from it," he said. "Because that is true of all medicines."

Anorexia's Lasting Grip In Middle Age and After

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1
they were less than 1 percent.)

These studies add to the evidence suggesting that a number of older women continue to suffer from the untreated or poorly treated eating disorders of their youth. Some eating disorders are newly diagnosed during menopause, when many women feel a loss of control over their changing bodies. But, said Margo Maine, a clinical psychologist in West Hartford, Conn., who specializes in eating disorders: "It's very rare that it's all of a sudden."

No Treatment

In general, the earlier an eating disorder is diagnosed, the greater the success in treating it. But before the mid-1980s, little was known about them.

For her forthcoming memoir, "Slip: Life in the Middle of Eating Disorder Recovery," Mallory Tenore Tarpley, a journalism professor at the University of Texas, Austin, surveyed more than 700 people ages 18 to 78 with eating disorders.

"Many of the older women I spoke to said they never received proper treatment — or any treatment — when they were younger," said Ms. Tarpley, 40, who was hospitalized with anorexia as a teenager and still grapples with eating issues. "This was especially true of women who were struggling in the 1970s and 1980s, when eating disorder treatment was nonexistent."

Doctors are now seeing the long-term impact of disordered eating on older bodies, including osteoporosis, arthritis, dental issues and heart disease.

"My fear is that we are woefully underprepared for these patients," said Craig Johnson, a senior adviser at the Eating Recovery Center in Denver. "There will be an increasing number of patients that are aging into their 60s and 70s in need of palliative care that I fear we are unprepared for."

Karla Wagner was diagnosed with anorexia in her early 20s. She was hospitalized for medical stabilization for three months in 1987 and spent five weeks in a residential treatment program. Since then, she has participated in outpatient programs three times; today, she has weekly appointments with a therapist and dietitians. Now 60, Ms. Wagner had lost part of her colon and suffers from gastrointestinal issues and osteoarthritis, the result of her anorexia.

"The eating disorder, along with my age, compromise my ability to fight and overcome illnesses," said Ms. Wagner, a widowed mother in the Atlanta suburbs who is on disability. "My dietitian is always monitoring my weight and diet to make sure I have enough reserves to recover from surgeries and illnesses."

Little Progress

Anorexia gained attention among the general public in the late 1970s with the publication of Hilde Bruch's "The Golden Cage: The Enigma of Anorexia Nervosa," followed by Steven Levenkron's "The Best Little Girl in the World," which became a television movie starring Jennifer Jason Leigh. But it wasn't until the death of the singer Karen Carpenter in 1983 that many began to learn how dangerous an eating disorder could be. The nation's first inpatient residential facility for eating disorders, the Renfrew Center, opened in rural Pennsylvania in 1985.

Before then, most treatment involved hospital stays and mandatory refeeding, which could include requiring patients to

consume a certain number of calories per day and to finish their meals. If they didn't, they were given a supplement, or even fitted with a feeding tube. Patients had to reach a predetermined weight, whereupon they would be released. After returning home, they often relapsed, and the cycle would continue.

To some degree, that's still the case today. "It's still pretty much one size fits all," said Cynthia Bulik, founding director of the University of North Carolina Center of Excellence for Eating Disorders, in Chapel Hill. "Regardless, if you've had anorexia for 30 years or five, you're typically prescribed a starting diet of a base line number of calories per day and then expected to gain a certain amount of weight per week."

While drugs like Zentop and Wegovy can reduce appetite and cravings, she said, nothing has come on the market to help people with anorexia tolerate weight gain and eradicate what she calls the "anti-food noise" that tends to accompany the illness.

Family-based treatment and cognitive behavioral therapy, which focus on rewiring thinking and habits, have shown some positive results. But neither was available when these women were young.

Many older patients are also reluctant to seek treatment. "They're so apologetic about needing help," said Dr. Maine. "They'll say, 'We should help the younger people because they can get better' and 'This is a young person's illness, why am I doing this when I'm so old?' A lot of our time is spent uncovering all that embarrassment and shame."

Although medical experts are increasingly recognizing eating disorders in later life, most treatment is still geared toward much younger women. Even if a facility offers midlife programming, as some do, most patients are often decades younger, which means that a 60-year-old could share a room or do therapy with someone 20 or 30 years her junior.

"I've talked with older women who have been in situations like this, only to feel like they had to take on a maternal role, rather than focusing on caring for themselves," Ms. Tarpley said.

In 2012, Ms. Bremis went to an eating disorder facility in California. She was in her 50s, and most other patients were in their teens. "I felt totally out of place," she said. "I wasn't a good role model for these young girls." She left after two days.

At 69, Ms. Bremis considers herself "functioning" but adheres to a rigid eating schedule. "I still think constantly about losing weight and the feeling that comes with it," she said.

She also struggles with the long-term physical consequences of her eating disorder, including osteoporosis, severe sciatica pain, a weak pelvic floor, dental bone loss and stenosis. She has since founded the Eating Disorders Resource Center, a nonprofit organization that creates awareness.

The High Cost of Help

Financial hurdles can also be an impediment for older patients. Most inpatient treatment facilities, many of which are run by venture capital firms, don't accept Medicare, the federal health insurance program for people over 65. Those who can afford to pay out of pocket often don't want to halt their lives to check into a treatment center, especially if they're contending with children, spouses, careers or aging parents.



RACHEL WOOLF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MELISSA LUKENBAUGH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

With this in mind, some organizations are offering remote programs.

Within Health specialties in moderate to severe patients who are medically monitored. Patients receive two or three weekly therapy sessions, individual nutrition sessions and check-ins, family therapy sessions, group therapy sessions and psychiatrist meetings. Patients also receive a personalized meal plan and a meal delivery service. They offer groups for "mature adults" over 50. Equip, which is also virtual,

Sally Odenheimer, top, has been treated for anorexia since 2005. Karen Moul (above with her husband, Gene) fought anorexia for over 40 years.

tailors its treatment programs to the specific patient. Its older adults are 35 or older.

The Eating Disorder Foundation, a nonprofit, has been running free online groups and in-person retreats for women over 50. Since its formation in 2021, more than 700 people have signed up, said Bonnie Brennan, a Denver therapist who leads the groups.

"I'm not a believer that we should ever give up," said Ms. Brennan. "I hold the hope that at any moment, no matter how sick someone is, they can make a choice that they're going to decide to do things differently in their lives, even if it's little small moves at a time."

Ms. Odenheimer, who has been seeing a therapist for her anorexia since 2005, when she was 52, attends Ms. Brennan's support group. "The group is a place I can go to be with people I can relate to who are dealing with similar issues and not feel ashamed that I'm still dealing with an eating disorder at my age," she said.

Discussion often centers on the concept of recovery, a challenging notion for people whose illness has been part of their identity for decades. What does recovery even look like to a person whose illness has been intrinsic to their sense of self?

"I look at recovery as a journey, and it's a matter of who's in control, my healthy adult or my eating disorder," said Ms. Wagner, who sees a dietitian and therapist who specializes in trauma. For her, recovery means not having to be hypervigilant about food and weight. Since September, she has considered herself to be in "full recovery," which she defines as being able to do the things she enjoys without thinking about eating or not eating.

Karen Moul also considers herself in recovery after a fight of more than 40 years with anorexia.

Ms. Moul, 64, an artist in Tulsa, Okla., left college her sophomore year after dropping "a ton of weight." She moved back home with her parents and tried to return to school locally but couldn't focus. "My eating disorder was the No. 1 thing in my life," she said.

Her father, a physician, thought she had a stomach problem, and her parents had her hospitalized for tests, all of which came back negative. She saw a psychiatrist to help her manage her stress, but was never explicitly treated for anorexia.

Her restricted food intake continued. When she turned 50, her son left for college, her sister died and she began playing golf competitively. She found herself eating even less and becoming even more focused on her body. Finally, in her late 50s, she assembled a therapist, a dietitian and an internist who specialized in eating disorders.

She tried to curb her exercise and gain weight. But in 2023, seeing how frail she was and worrying that her life was at risk, her team decided it was time for a residential program. She spent 10 weeks at Alana, an eating recovery community in Thousand Oaks, Calif. After reaching a weight deemed sufficient by her health insurance company, she moved to a partial hospitalization program nearby. Her three roommates were in their 20s, but she didn't mind.

"We helped each other," she said. Now she attends the virtual meetings of a support group and has weekly appointments with her therapist and dietitian, as well as biweekly meetings with her internist. She said she feels better than she has in years. She just wishes the help had come earlier.

"Had there been treatment when I was much younger, and a place where I spent more time with clinicians who could help with the underlying reason that I had an eating disorder, I might have been able to get into recovery much sooner," she said.

Another Potential Fungal Threat to North American Bats

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

across Europe and as far east as South Korea. Yet nowhere in Europe or Asia did *P. destructans* cause mass die-offs like it did in North America.

Dr. Puechmaillie and his colleagues worked out the reason for this sharp contrast. The fungus originally evolved in Europe and Asia, where it developed a peaceful coexistence with bats over millions of years.

The fungus grows only at the cool temperatures in a bat's hibernating body. It causes no lasting harm to the animals, which warm up in the spring and shed the fungus. When the bats leave their caves, they leave behind fungal spores that can infect new hosts the next winter.

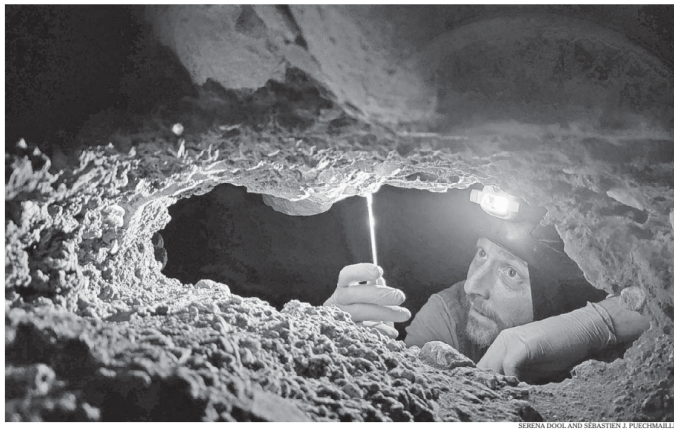
The culprit grows only at the cool temperatures in a bat's hibernating body.

"When the bat comes back in autumn, if it touches the wall with its wings or ears or anything else, then those spores get onto it, and the cycle starts again," Dr. Puechmaillie said.

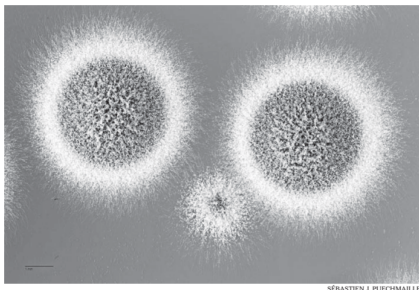
When *P. destructans* suddenly appeared in North America in the early 2000s, the bats there were ill-equipped to handle the new disease. As their immune systems struggled against the fungus, they woke up often during the winter and burned up their fat reserves. By the spring, many infected bats had starved to death.

To reconstruct the deep history of *P. destructans*, Dr. Puechmaillie enlisted a network of hundreds of volunteers to amass a collection of fungal samples. He and his colleagues then sequenced the DNA of more than 5,400 samples for clues into how the fungus evolved and how it managed to reach North America.

All the samples of *P. destructans* that scientists have studied in North America are nearly identical clones. They all must have descended from a single spore introduced to the continent, presumably not long before the discovery of the disease in



SERENA DOOL AND SÉBASTIEN J. PUECHMAILLIE



SÉBASTIEN J. PUECHMAILLIE

2006 in New York.

Until now, scientists had little idea where exactly the North American fungus came from across the range of *P. destructans*, which stretches more than 5,000 miles. "We had nothing to pin it down," Dr. Puechmaillie said.

In their new study, Dr. Puechmaillie and his colleagues discovered that the North American fungi closely match samples collected from bats hibernating in caves in the Podillia region of Ukraine. The analysis zeroed in on an 18-square-mile area as the most likely origin of the spore that started the North American epidemic.

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, American spelunkers made contact with their Ukrainian counterparts and started exploring Podillia's maze of caves. Dr. Puechmaillie speculated that spore-riddled

Left, Sébastien Puechmaillie swabbing the wall of a cave in France where bats hibernate. Below, a culture of the fungus that causes white-nose disease.

much could have stuck to a caver's gear and survived a trip back to the United States. That caver may have then unwittingly transported the spore to a New York cave on a boot or a rope, setting off a new epidemic.

"We do not want to blame people," Dr. Puechmaillie said. "The only thing we wanted to do was to find evidence that there was definitely a movement between these regions."

The study not only clarifies the origin of the white-nose epidemic in North America but also raises serious concerns about a future outbreak.

Dr. Puechmaillie discovered that the fungal samples belonged to two genetically distinct groups. That means *P. destructans* is not one species, as originally thought, but two, called Pd-1 and Pd-2 for the time being.

The two species split from a common ancestor roughly a million years ago. The range of Pd-1 extends throughout Europe as far east as the Ural Mountains in Russia. Pd-2 is less common in Europe, but also extends into Asia. The two species of fungi seem to specialize on certain species of bats, although Dr. Puechmaillie's team has discovered some individual bats in Europe infected with both Pd-1 and Pd-2.

The North American epidemic was caused solely by Pd-1. If Pd-2 reaches North America, Dr. Puechmaillie warns, it could cause trouble as well. Bat species hit hard by Pd-1 might get pushed to extinction, and species that managed to resist Pd-1 could succumb to Pd-2.

"It's really important for conservation that we should set up some policies to prevent this second fungal pathogen from being transported to other continents, including North America," Dr. Puechmaillie said. People should not move cave equipment between countries, he said, and they should disinfect it between expeditions.

"A single spore is enough," he warned.

Well

Studying Plasma Exchange Therapy

Scientists differ over the effectiveness of a procedure as an anti-aging treatment.

By MOHANA RAVINDRANATH

Cars need oil changes to keep their engines running smoothly. Some anti-aging influencers and scientists believe exchanging the plasma in your blood can do a similar thing to help slow biological aging. The procedure is offered for thousands of dollars a session at many longevity clinics.

In a car, “you change the oil every 3,000 miles because it clears out debris,” said Dr. Eric Verdin, the president and chief executive of the Buck Institute for Research on Aging. Your blood, he said, can also accumulate potentially damaging particles that can be flushed out.

One of the first trials examining plasma exchange for anti-aging in humans, published last week in the journal *Aging Cell*, offers early evidence that it may be able to slow the biological breakdown that comes with age.

The small study of 42 participants, with an average age of 65, found that those who got plasma exchange therapy over the course of a few months had lower concentrations in their blood of the biological compounds that accumulate with age, compared with a control group. The trial was sponsored by Circulate Health, a plasma exchange startup, and written by, among others, Dr. Verdin, a company co-founder and head of the scientific advisory board.

Still, many other scientists who study plasma exchange are skeptical. Its anti-aging benefits for healthy people have “never been proven” in large clinical trials, said Dr. Katarayoun Fomani, an associate professor and medical director of the blood bank at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, and drawing blood and replacing plasma with added fluids could put patients at risk for unnecessary medical complications without a clear payoff.

How does the procedure work?

Plasma exchange is a well-established treatment for certain blood disorders, autoimmune diseases and neurological conditions, and it’s typically covered by insurance when deemed medically necessary. It is not covered for anti-aging purposes.

During the therapy, a provider — typically a registered nurse or a technician — hooks the patient up to a machine that draws out blood. The machine separates and discards the plasma from the blood, replaces it with donor plasma or a substitute fluid, then returns the blood to the patient. The substitute fluid often contains a mixture of saline and proteins, like albumin; in some cases, an infusion of antibodies or drugs may also be added to boost the immune system or fight certain diseases. Sessions typically take a couple of hours.

Hospitals and medical centers use plasma exchange to remove particles that hasten a disease’s progression, such as the antibodies that attack a patient’s nervous system in multiple sclerosis. But proponents of the procedure for improving health span and life span say it can be used as a preventive measure, to remove the inflammatory antibodies and proteins that may drive biological aging (the deterioration of cells and tissues).



MONTSE GALANY

Plasma therapy is one of several different experimental longevity procedures that involve blood transfers, including platelet-rich plasma treatment, which concentrates and injects a patient’s own blood into injured areas; and a treatment where an older recipient receives a young donor’s blood.

What does the science show?

Most of the research into the anti-aging benefits of plasma exchange has been done on animals, so the findings don’t necessarily carry over to humans, said Dr. Caroline Alquist, the co-director of the Hoxworth Blood Center at the University of Cincinnati. One 2020 study on mice, for instance, found that replacing some of the animals’ blood plasma with saline and albumin, a protein believed to bind to and help remove harmful molecules, appeared to reverse biological markers of aging, especially within the brain, liver and muscle tissues.

Until now, the research in humans has focused on patients who already have an age-related disease. In one trial of nearly 350 Alzheimer’s patients, those undergoing plasma therapy over about 14 months saw slower or more stable cognitive decline than those who received a placebo treatment. Some early studies also suggest that plasma therapy may improve survival rates for people with liver disease.

In the Circulate Health trial, one group of subjects received an albumin infusion every few weeks or so; another group got the same infusion and an antibody to fight infections; and a control group got only saline. Researchers used dozens of biological age tests to measure subjects’ blood several times during the full three-to-six-month regimen. They estimated that the albumin and antibody group decreased their biological age by about 2.6 years, while those on the albumin regimen saw a roughly one-year reduction. People who received only

saline generally saw their biological age increase over the course of the trial.

What are the open questions?

While the Circulate Health study is “intriguing,” and suggests that plasma exchange appears to affect subjects’ blood composition even after the procedure, it doesn’t necessarily mean that it will help people live longer or healthier, said Dr. Jeffrey Winters, the chair of transfusion medicine at the Mayo Clinic. He said the trial was too small to prove anti-aging benefits; it also didn’t follow subjects for more than a few months, so it’s not clear how long the effects of plasma exchange last.

In the study, the authors hypothesized that treatments could get less effective over time as the body adjusts to the infusions. (The subjects typically didn’t show much difference in biological age after the third measurement, compared with the control, suggesting that the impact of the therapy could level off.)

It’s also not clear if the findings are a direct result of the treatment or if they were influenced by some other confounding factor, like the profile of the subjects, who were healthy patients in the Bay Area and recruited by Circulate Health, added Dr. Zbigniew M. Szczepiolkowski, a professor of pathology and laboratory medicine at Dartmouth Health.

Finally, while plasma exchange is a relatively safe medical procedure, it does bring risks, Dr. Winters said. The machine could fail, damaging red blood cells and inducing anemia in the patient, among other hazards. Though longevity clinics primarily use saline and albumin, donor plasma could also carry an infection over to the patient.

“Especially given the absence of evidence in the literature,” Dr. Winters said, the benefit for using plasma exchange for longevity “really isn’t there.”

Ask Well

I never know which type of over-the-counter pain medication to use for different types of pain, like headaches, sprained ankles or sore muscles. Which works best for these unique situations?

When you have various aches and pains, it can be challenging to decide which over-the-counter pain reliever is best matched for your affliction — Advil, Aleve, Tylenol, Motrin?

The choice, experts say, comes down to acetaminophen or non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (or NSAIDs).

Each addresses pain in its own way, said Mary Lynn McPherson, a professor at the University of Maryland School of Pharmacy. And not all types of pain respond equally well to both, she added.

Here’s how to tell what types of pain these drugs are most effective at relieving, and how to use them safely.

NSAIDs, which include ibuprofen (Advil, Motrin), naproxen (Aleve) and aspirin (Bayer), help relieve pain by rushing to sites of inflammation throughout the body, said Dr. Katherin Peperzak, medical director of the Center for Pain Relief at the University of Washington Medical Center.

Acetaminophen (Tylenol), on the other hand, is dispatched to receptors in the brain and the spinal cord, but what it does from there is a little more mysterious.

But acetaminophen doesn’t target inflammation like NSAIDs do, Dr. McPherson added.

Acetaminophen and NSAIDs can relieve many of the same types of pain. But there are pros and cons to each.

NSAIDs are best at treating inflammation-related pain that occurs anywhere in the body, whether it’s localized to one spot or spread throughout.

All NSAIDs work similarly, so choose the one that’s most effective for you, said Dr. F. Michael Ferrante, director of the Pain Management Center at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Naproxen (sold as Aleve), however, does tend to keep pain away for longer than the other NSAIDs — about 12 hours, Dr. McPherson said. Ibuprofen (Advil, Motrin), on the other hand, works for closer to four to six hours.

Acetaminophen (Tylenol) is most effective for more mild pain that is not caused by inflammation, Dr. Peperzak said. It can help with mild arthritis pain or tension headaches, Dr. McPherson said — or body aches related to a cold, Dr. Peperzak added. Acetaminophen won’t treat symp-

toms of inflammation like swelling or redness, Dr. McPherson said, which could cause the body to take longer to heal.

Both classes of drugs can help reduce a fever, Dr. Ferrante said. Unless your doctor recommends otherwise, it’s best to follow the product’s dosing guidelines, Dr. Ferrante said. For adults, that’s typically no more than 3,000 milligrams of acetaminophen per day, he said — and up to 1,200 milligrams per day for ibuprofen, 660 milligrams for naproxen and 4,000 milligrams for aspirin.

Acetaminophen and NSAIDs can be taken together, either at the same time or by alternating them throughout the day. This lets you “benefit from both mechanisms,” since they work differently for pain relief, especially if you aren’t getting results from one alone, Dr. Peperzak said.

However, avoid doing this with individual categories of NSAIDs



ERIC HELGAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

(by mixing ibuprofen with naproxen, for example). Using too much at once or for long periods of time increases the risk of developing chronic acid reflux, nausea, ulcers or kidney problems, Dr. Ferrante said. It also increases the risk of heart attack, stroke and high blood pressure, Dr. McPherson added.

Certain people — such as those who are pregnant or breastfeeding, are taking blood thinners or have a history of high blood pressure or kidney, liver or heart disease — should avoid NSAIDs (or at least consult a doctor first), Dr. McPherson said.

Acetaminophen is less likely to cause side effects, Dr. Peperzak said. Minor ones may include a rash, nausea or constipation. But acetaminophen can be toxic to your liver when taken at high doses, Dr. McPherson said, so avoid it if you have a history of alcoholism or liver disease.

ERICA SWEENEY

Do Your Best to Not Be So Hard on Yourself

Cultivating self-compassion can actually help you cope better with life’s struggles.

By CHRISTINA CARON

If a friend is struggling with a big challenge or feels defeated, it’s usually our first instinct to offer words of comfort and understanding. But often it’s not so easy to do this for ourselves.

We can be our own harshest critics. Practicing a little self-compassion, though, goes a long way. Research shows that when people go through challenges or stressful situations, those who display more self-compassion are more resilient.

“We can say, ‘I made a mistake,’ as opposed to saying, ‘I am a mistake,’” said Kristin Neff, an associate professor of educational psychology at the University of Texas at Austin who has studied self-compassion for more than two decades. “It’s a healthier alternative to self-esteem, because it’s not about judging yourself positively, it’s just about being helpful and kind to yourself.”

Self-compassion is the process of extending support, warmth and understanding toward yourself during difficult times — and recognizing that you aren’t alone in your imperfections.

It arises from mindfulness, which involves staying focused on the present moment without judgment. Self-compassionate people can identify when they are struggling or feeling inadequate, but avoid becoming lost in those feelings so that they can respond to themselves with kindness instead of ruminating, Dr. Neff said.

Being kind to yourself doesn’t mean hosting a pity party. Our suffering is not unique — flaws and failures are part of what make us human. And while we all suffer in different

ways, the knowledge that suffering is universal can help prevent feelings of shame or isolation.

One common myth is that self-compassion will undermine motivation to improve yourself or your circumstances. But research suggests that support, encouragement and constructive criticism are more effective motivators than negative feedback, Dr. Neff added.

Another myth is that self-compassion is self-indulgent. But in reality, Dr. Neff said, it has been shown to reduce burnout and therefore allow us to better care for others. Self-indulgence, on the other hand, involves behaving in a way that is ultimately harmful — either to yourself or to others.

Finally, self-compassion is sometimes confused with self-care, but it’s not just about soothing, said Steven C. Hayes, a clinical psychologist and the creator of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy, which emphasizes the types of skills that are useful for building self-compassion, like living in the moment and focusing on values rather than imposed expectations.

Self-compassion “is the empowerment to be yourself, to feel what you’re feeling, fully and without needless defense,” he said.

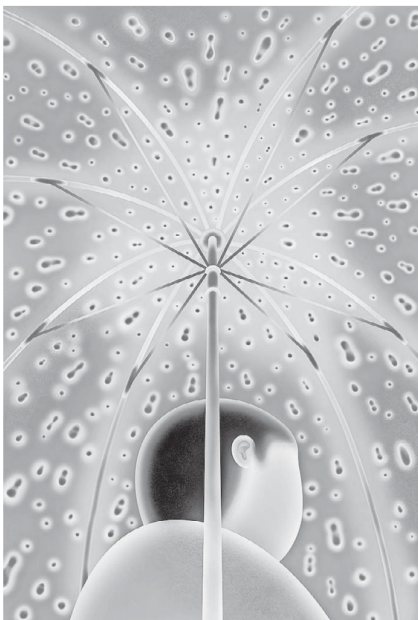
There are a number of ways to practice self-compassion:

SAY KIND THINGS TO YOURSELF Think about how you show up for yourself throughout your day, Dr. Neff said. Are you supportive and encouraging? Are you your own worst enemy?

“The vast majority of people are significantly more compassionate to others than they are to themselves,” Dr. Neff said.

If you’re prone to beating yourself up, she added, try speaking to yourself kindly, just as you would to a good friend in the same situation.

TAKE A COMPASSION BREAK Tara Brach, a



HOW CHAN

psychologist and the author of “Radical Acceptance,” suggests the RAIN method: Recognize, allow, investigate and nurture.

The idea here is to recognize the emotions you’re having and then allow those feelings to exist without reflexively

pushing them away.

Next, investigate how your body is affected by your emotions — is there a hollowiness in your stomach or a clenching in your chest? Take time to also explore the beliefs associated with those emotions — are you assuming that something is wrong with you?

“That is probably the biggest suffering that people have: ‘I’m unlovable, I’m falling short, I should be doing more,’” Dr. Brach said.

Then, nurture. What does the suffering part of you most need right now? Understanding? To be forgiven? A kind message? Put a hand over your heart or use another soothing touch that feels caring.

Send a kind message inward: “It’s OK to feel this” or “You’re doing the best that you can.”

These tiny gestures can make a big difference.

A study of 135 undergraduates found that those who regularly spent 20 seconds a day placing their hands over their heart and belly while thinking kind thoughts like “How can I be a friend to myself in this moment?” reported feeling less stressed and were found to have more compassion for themselves after a month.

PAY IT FORWARD By giving yourself compassion, you become better able to receive and offer compassionate care to others, Dr. Hayes said.

“Show them that they’re not alone,” he added. “We need people who are more self-compassionate and compassionate toward others.”

Self-compassion might involve establishing healthy boundaries in a relationship or even turning your compassion outward for example, volunteering for an important cause or attending a protest to try to bring about positive political or social change.

In this sense, self-compassion can be fierce and strong: Think “mama bear” energy.

“Part of caring for ourselves means trying to end harm on the societal level as well,” Dr. Neff said. “It’s bigger than just our individual selves.”

Well

Ways to Avoid Injuries On the Tennis Court

Racket sports are good for you, but players should learn how to protect muscles and joints.

By JEN MURPHY

The first game of tennis after a long break can feel like a revelation. The birds sing, the air is crisp and your serve isn't half bad after three months off. The day after, however, is a different story.

If you took the winter off, you can expect some aches and pains when you get back onto the court. But recreational tennis poses a fairly low risk of acute injury, said Dr. Tiana Woolridge, a sports medicine physician at the Hospital for Special Surgery in New York City who has worked with collegiate players.

Even so, games like tennis and pickleball are full of repetitive and high-impact movements, such as lunging for balls and swinging the racket, and that can put a lot of stress on the body.

A five-year analysis of 449 Austrian recreational tennis players found that acute injuries spiked in the summer months, especially in June. The most common involved falls or twisted joints, especially ankle sprains, usually caused by missteps.

The spine and upper extremities are also particularly susceptible to chronic wear-and-tear injuries, said Dr. David Dines, the medical director of the Association of Tennis Professionals.

Here are the most common tennis injuries and how to treat and prevent them.

Lower Back Injuries

During a serve, the back is hyperextended, and every stroke requires rotation. The damage can be subtle. In a small British study from 2007 involving competitive adolescent players, none of the 33 players complained of back pain, but 28 had signs of spinal damage after M.R.I. imaging, a proportion you might expect in people over 60.

Back pains and strains become more frequent after 40, when the cushioning tissues between the vertebrae can start to deteriorate,

Dr. Dines said. If you feel lower back pain, the first course of action should be rest, he said. If the pain returns, see a physical therapist or have a tennis professional assess your technique.

PREVENTION When you hit a tennis ball, most of the force is generated from the legs up. If the body's powerhouse muscles — the core, glutes, hamstrings and quads — are weak, the lower back pays the price. Dr. Dines suggested adopting a routine of core exercises, like planks, and lower-body exercises, like Romanian dead lifts and squats.

Upper Body Injuries

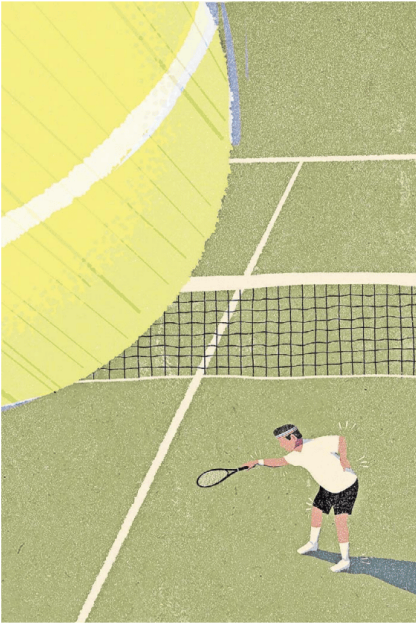
The ball-and-socket joint of the shoulder is secured by the four muscles and tendons of the rotator cuff, which can become irritated, torn or overstretched, particularly when playing overhead sports like tennis.

As we age, tissue in the body naturally starts to break down, causing small, often painless microtears, said Dr. Elizabeth Matzkin, an orthopedic surgeon at Mass General Brigham in Boston. But if the rotator cuff muscles are weak, the tears can worsen as you forcibly extend your arm going for a shot, she said.

Rotator cuff injuries cause pain when rotating the arm or extending it overhead and a dull ache in the shoulder that worsens at night. Minor irritation usually disappears after one or two days of rest, Dr. Woolridge said. If it persists, see a physical therapist; M.R.I. imaging may be required to rule out a full tear, which can require surgery.

Tennis elbow is a repetitive stress injury affecting up to half of players annually and feels like a persistent pain on the outside of the elbow. It occurs when the muscles and tendons along the forearm that help extend the wrist are taxed from actions such as over-gripping the racket or hitting backhand with poor technique, Dr. Matzkin said.

PREVENTION Dr. Woolridge said that shoulder-strengthening exercises, like scapular rows and shoulder extensions with a resistance band, should be a staple of every tennis player's routine. These exercises can also ward off tennis elbow, as can wrist-



LEHEL KOVACS

High-impact and repetitive movements can be rough on bodies.

strengthening drills like wrist curl flexion and extension exercises. For both drills, work up to 30 reps and then add a light dumbbell of no more than five pounds.

Your tennis racket's grip size and the tension of its strings can also contribute to tennis elbow and shoulder aches, Dr. Matzkin said. If you play over once a month, she said, ask a pro to assess your equipment.

Lower Body Injuries

Ankle sprains are a hazard of any sport with

intense side-to-side movement and sudden stopping or pivoting. Dr. Woolridge said. Most ankle sprains do not require surgery. While the standard advice has been rest, ice and compression, many experts now prefer movement and heat. But research suggests that once you sustain an ankle sprain, you're at greater risk of sustaining another. Calf muscle tears are common enough that many doctors call them "tennis leg."

"When players are quickly changing directions, they might feel a pop in the back of the mid-calf," Dr. Matzkin said. The injury rarely requires surgery, but the calf will be sore and swollen and will require rest.

Tight calf muscles can also contribute to Achilles tendinitis, an inflammation of the tendon that connects the calf to the heel.

"If the calf is too tight and unable to contract, the Achilles takes the force and can rupture," Dr. Matzkin said. "That is a rough injury with a very long recovery."

The quick cutting and pivoting motions in tennis also put knees, particularly aging ones, at risk for injuries like ACL and meniscus tears.

PREVENTION The muscles in your feet and legs play an important role in ankle stability. You can strengthen them with exercises, such as resistance-band foot drills and lunges forward, backward and sideways. Balance drills, such as lunges performed on an unstable surface, like a pillow, can improve proprioception, or body awareness.

Protect your knees with a regimen of squats and lunges, which strengthen the muscles that keep the knee stable and firm up the tendons and ligaments around the joint, Dr. Matzkin said.

To stretch and strengthen the calves and Achilles' tendon, she recommended calf raises with heels hovering off a step.

Playing Smart to Play Strong

A pregame dynamic warm-up for tennis or pickleball should be nonnegotiable, Dr. Woolridge said. If pain arises, don't ignore it. Continuing to play can aggravate it or cause you to make compensations that put other joints and muscles at risk, Dr. Matzkin said. Managing pain when it starts can shorten the time it will take to subside.

In your 20s and 30s, tennis is the workout, Dr. Woolridge said. But as we age, we start needing to work out to keep playing. Complementing your game with strength and mobility exercises can make tennis a sport you can play for a lifetime.

15 Years Later, Time Has Not Stood Still

A patient, now middle-aged, returns to her therapist and finds that people do change.

By KERA BOLONIK

Two weeks before my father died last June, I wrote to my old psychotherapist, L.P.

We'd exchanged a few brief emails, but we hadn't spoken in 15 years. I hoped she would be willing to see me.

L.P., who asked that I use her initials to maintain her privacy, was surprised to hear from me and suggested we meet a few times to see how it felt. Maybe she was simply treating me like a new client, but I wondered if I was being put on probation. I kept thinking about the self-absorbed 20-something who used to visit her office. I could appreciate why she might proceed with caution.

I rode the subway to our first appointment, full of questions: *What was she like now? Would we still work well together? What if we didn't?*

L.P. greeted me in the reception area, and her smile quelled my anxieties. We took in the sight of each other: At 53, my hair was speckled with gray, my face a little drawn. L.P., who's almost 20 years older than me, was impeccably dressed in summer layers, her warm brown eyes alert behind tortoiseshell glasses. I was certain she had her portrait aging in the attic.

We settled into her office and discovered we'd both developed a little hearing loss. So we leaned in closer as we chatted.

She remembered a lot, so it was a relief not to have to rehash the mishigas that came with managing my father's health care. But I'd also withstood a lot from her when I was younger. I'd been concerned she'd judge me for some of my ill-advised choices. At the time, I'd seen her as an authority figure, the only adult in the room.

I wasn't prepared for the memories her office brought up. Our time was unfolding differently than I'd expected: I was rambling on about our early sessions, seemingly without an agenda.

Finally, L.P. asked softly but pointedly, "Why are you really here?"

I WAS 24 WHEN I lost one of my closest friends, Lisa, to suicide. I didn't know how to process any of it: her profound pain, seeing her dead at the hospital and later in an open casket, her parents' loss. Realizing how easy it was to die, I became unmoved.

Grief brought me to L.P.'s office, but we soon moved on to other topics: I was diagnosed with depression just before college, and moved to New York, far from everyone I knew. The city allowed me to build my queer life on my terms; I couldn't imagine living anywhere else.

But I couldn't ignore how to turn my affairs with unavailable women and my dead-end publishing jobs into something more. And I couldn't stop obsessively parsing my interactions at work, on dates, at parties. I was convinced people perceived



KIMBERLY LEVITT

me as vapid, irritating. I often felt very alone. I didn't want to want to kill myself. But I wanted to die.

L.P. did a lot of listening, guiding our sessions with thoughtful questions that helped me draw my own insights. Her reserve and firm boundaries made her a tabula rasa onto which I could project anything, but they also rendered her mysterious. If not for the canceled classes, I thought she could have been a figment of my imagination.

I assumed I wasn't to ask L.P. personal questions. Instead, I made snarky assumptions. I labeled the midcentury modern furniture in her office "Design Out of Reach," quipping that she must have a rich husband to afford it on a therapist's salary.

Why, she'd asked, do you assume I am straight?

Over more than a decade of working together, I got better. My self-critical thoughts faded. I stopped dissecting every conversation. I was in a healthy relationship with a

woman I loved and planning a family with her. I was surrounded by good friends. I'd found a way to make peace with Lisa's death. I was more functional, productive, even happy.

Which told me there was little else for me and L.P. to do together in therapy. I became increasingly agitated by the thought of a long goodbye. So I chose a short goodbye instead and ended treatment — effective immediately.

L.P. seemed taken aback but offered to leave her door open.

"Thanks," I said, "but I don't think I'll need to take you up on that."

And for 15 years, I believed it.

ONE FRIDAY EVENING, a year before my father's death, I saw a man from my neighborhood having a breakdown. He was crying in the middle of the street, beckoning cars to hit him. I managed to lure him onto the sidewalk to talk. He told me that he'd lost his

Awakened memories and more from a former brat.

daughter, and that she'd been a new parent.

The encounter shook me. It awakened memories of Lisa, of her late parents, of other friends' deaths.

Soon after, personal crises rolled into my life as if on a conveyor belt: I got diagnosed with cancer, and my father's Parkinson's entered its final stages, made worse by his denial that it was happening.

I didn't have the time or the wherewithal to deal with my feelings. I was crying all the time when I wasn't blowing up at friends and family. I was self-averting again. And I couldn't shake the memory of that man on the street from my mind.

It wasn't until the death fantasies resurfaced that I realized my depression had returned. They weighed more heavily on my middle-aged mind. How could I harbor suicidal thoughts when my father was fighting for his life? When so many friends had lost their battles for theirs? When I had a wife and a son, and family and friends who loved me?

That's how I found myself writing to L.P. late one June afternoon, wondering whether her offer still stood. I hoped she hadn't written off the brat who used to judge her.

But she hadn't. She's a therapist, after all. When I brought up my old antics, L.P. seemed unfazed, chalking them up to youth. She remembered me not as petulant but as someone eager to do "the work." She saw me trying to figure out why I was drawn to unhealthy situations.

It was a kind of muscle memory that led me back here: L.P. understood my depression better than anyone in my life. She was the person who helped me climb out all those years ago.

So when she asked me why I was really in her office, I suspect she already knew.

It took me some time before I saw that I'd been reminiscing with purpose: not to stall or atone or absolve myself for the person I once was — but to figure out how to get better again. My young self had suffered and, with L.P.'s help, recovered. I had to re-experience being that person, and being her in front of L.P., to remember how I found my way out of my depression.

It was effective. I've finally stopped mining our earlier chapters for answers. We are both older, and our dynamic has changed: In some ways, we've become different people. L.P. even confessed that she'd been too rigid about her boundaries when we'd worked together before.

Nowadays, I even find myself occasionally disagreeing with her take on things, which I don't mind. Engaging in a dialogue is helpful, too. I have more experience — in therapy, in life — so I am less intimidated. In fact, we are coming up on a year, and recently I have emerged from my black hole. But does that mean our work is complete?

I don't know, to be honest.

We won't be in this office forever. But until she tells me otherwise, I'm in no rush to leave.



Left and below left, sea lions along Argentina's coast, killed by the bird flu that also claimed thousands of elephant seals in 2023. Below, a dead elephant seal on a California beach this year.

For California's Seals, Bird Flu Poses Danger

In 2023, H5N1 ravaged Argentine colonies; the race is on to save their northern kin.

By EMILY ANTHES

In late 2023, bird flu arrived on the rocky shores of the Valdés Peninsula in Argentina, ripping through the local colony of southern elephant seals. More than 17,000 seal pups died. It could take decades for the population to recover, experts said in April.

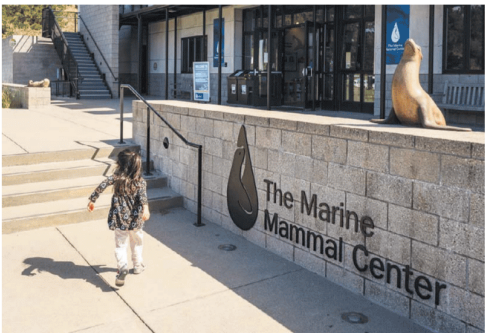
"It really hit a whole generation on that colony pretty hard," said Sarah Codde, a marine ecologist at the U.S. National Park Service.

Now, a team of ecologists, epidemiologists and veterinarians is scrambling to keep the same thing from happening to northern elephant seals. The seals, which live along the Pacific Coast of North America, were hunted almost to extinction in the 19th century. Since then, they have staged a remarkable comeback.

But the animals face several serious threats, including coastal erosion, extreme weather and warming temperatures. And their low genetic diversity makes them especially vulnerable to an outbreak. "The concern is that any disease could wipe them



Below, the Marine Mammal Center's hospital in Sausalito, Calif., which rescues and treats sick sea animals.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

out," Dr. Codde said.

Today, the Point Reyes National Seashore in California is home to roughly 4,000 of the marine behemoths. During the breeding season, the beaches become bona fide petri dishes, bringing large numbers of susceptible seals into close contact with one other as well as shorebirds that could be harboring the bird flu virus, known as H5N1.

Dr. Codde and her colleagues form one line of defense, venturing onto the beaches multiple times a week to conduct population counts and assessments. It's a task that requires patience, sharp eyesight and the willingness to occasionally approach multi-ton males for a closer look at the numbers on their plastic flipper tags.

This breeding season, Dr. Codde also worked with a graduate student at the University of California, Davis, to collect nasal swabs from young seals, which will provide insight into whether any form of influenza is circulating in the colony.

While Dr. Codde monitors the population at large, the Marine Mammal Center is keeping a close eye on individual seals that are sick. The center's main hospital, in Sausalito, rescues and rehabilitates sick and injured seals, sea lions and sea otters; last year, it treated more than 1,000 animals.

"Our clinic is a little thimble," said Dr. Dominic Travis, a wildlife veterinary epidemiologist and the chief programs officer at the Marine Mammal Center. "We get a sample size out of the ocean. But those things show up to us for a reason, right? They're an unhealthy sample."

During the breeding season, the center sees a lot of underweight, malnourished elephant seal pups, many of which are still too young to fend for themselves or even swim. Sometimes, they also see elephant seals with parasites or traumatic injuries, such as dog bites or blunt force trauma from boat propellers.

For the past few years, the Marine Mammal Center has been testing any patients with bird-flu-like symptoms, which include respiratory and neurological problems, for the virus. It has now expanded that testing to every patient; all animals are swabbed when they are admitted. The swabs are then sent to the University of California, Davis, for rapid bird flu testing.

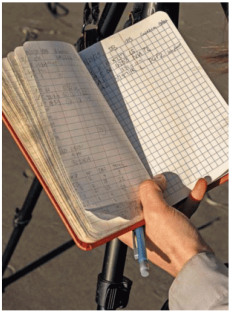


So far, none of the hospital's patients have tested positive for the bird flu virus that has been causing mass die-offs in wild animals. But experts know that the situation could change in an instant. "It's always a risk," said Dr. Cara Field, the center's director of conservation medicine. "We don't know what might come our way."

The Marine Mammal Center is also part of a larger local network of programs and

organizations working to expand flu surveillance in marine mammals — especially at a time when government funding is uncertain.

Given how widespread the virus is in wild birds, and how ubiquitous the birds are on the beaches, there's not much that experts can do to keep the virus entirely at bay. "So the best that we can do now is be prepared," Dr. Field said.



Left, a wildlife biological technician records notes about the elephant seal population at Drakes Beach, Point Reyes National Seashore, in California.



Left, a sample being taken from an elephant seal at the Marine Mammal Center in Sausalito. Far left, Aiko Goldston of the Point Reyes National Seashore Association, background, and Sarah Codde of the U.S. National Park Service monitoring the population of elephant seals around Point Reyes.

Elephant seal monitoring activities at Point Reyes National Seashore are authorized under National Marine Fisheries Service Permit Number 27424.